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THE EVOLUTION OF THE MONOTHEISTIC CONCEPTION IN THE BHAGAVAD GĪTA

By M. Yamunacharya, M.A.

In his '*Changing Backgrounds in Religion and Ethics*', H. Wildon Carr writes: 'The problem of religion and ethics in modern thought is not, as I conceive it, to harmonize natural science with the old religious concepts, but to reform our concept of God in accordance with our progress in interpreting our knowledge of the physical world. It is not: How can I frame an image of God? for we know that it is impossible to fashion an image of what is pure spirit; it is: How am I to conceive God seeing that a concept of God is a necessity of thought'. The above quotation represents in a nut-shell the trend of modern thought groping after a satisfying conception of God. The very same problem confronted thinkers in ancient India to whose efforts we owe the unbroken tradition of Monotheism that lies scattered in the religious and philosophical literature of India. Along with Monothestic views we also find polytheistic, henotheistic and animistic views intertwined. It is the task of the philosopher to separate the Monotheistic strand out of the intertwining strands of diversified tradition. At every age in India

thinkers have held aloft Monotheism out of the several streams of tendencies which form the complex web of Hinduism.

That God is pure Spirit and that God is Unity are views that emerged triumphant out of the speculations of philosophers. How the idea of theUnity of Godhead was handled in the Bhagavad Gīta may now be studied making allowances for certain terminological peculiarities inevitable to every system of religion. The germs of this Unitary conception of Godhead are found in Vedic and Upaniṣadic thought. There is the typical Ṛgvedic passage '*Ekam sat viprâ bahudhâ vadanti*' *i.e.* "'Tis one Being; sages describe it in many ways.' We have the Taittirîyopaniṣad saying' *Tad Brahma, sa âtmä, aṅgâny anyā-devatāḥ*' *i.e.* 'That Brahman is the Spirit, other Gods are Its limbs'. Hence '*Sarve'smai devâ balim âvahanti*' *i.e.* 'All gods offer sacrifice unto the one God'. S'aṅkara deems all diversity as not ultimately real and sticks firmly to the '*Mahā-Vâkyas*' which propound Unity, such as: '*Ekam eva â dvitïyam,*' one only, there is none second.

The Bhagavad Gīta may be regarded as giving the fullest expression to the Monotheistic view envisaged in the Ṛgveda and the Upaniṣads. In the Seventh Chapter we have the verse :—

बहूनां जन्मनामन्ते ज्ञानवान्मां प्रपद्यते। वासुदेवः सर्वमिति स महात्मा सुदुर्लभः॥

(VII. 19)

i.e. 'It takes many births before a man becomes wise, and reaches me ultimately. The consciousness at that stage is that of an all-encompassing God (Vâsudeva). Such a soul is a great soul and is a rarity.' This verse indicates how from the point of view of the Gīta, the intellectual acceptance of the Unity of Godhead becomes the dynamic religious principle transforming the life of its votary into that of a Mahatma. Here we have an indication of the Evolution of religious consciousness which in man has co-herently and co-ordinately arrived at the conception of Unity.

Then comes the verse :

कामैस्तैस्तैर्हृतज्ञानाः प्रपद्यन्तेऽन्यदेवताः । तं तं नियममास्थाय प्रकृत्या नियताः स्वया॥

(VII. 20)

i.e. 'Men are drawn hither and thither for lack of ripe wisdom which comprehends divine unity, swayed by desires, which lead

them to other Gods. This resort to other or smaller or lower deities is because of the similarity of natures between such men and such deities. In this vacillation, wisdom is affected.' That is, the goal of wisdom, *viz.* knowledge of the Unity of God is blurred and obstructed. According to this standard we may know a man by the sort of God he worships. Man has to struggle out of the lower worship into the higher.

The next verse runs as follows :—

यो यो यां यां तनुं भक्तः श्रद्धयार्चितुमिच्छति । तस्य तस्याचलां श्रद्धां तामेव विदधाम्यहम् ॥

(VII. 21)

i.e. 'Whichever body or form the votary wishes to worship, unto that body or form, I will see, that the devotion of him becomes firm and warm.' Here all the multitude of deities to which man resorts swayed by the nature of his desires, and which abides in his mentality so far evolved, is sought to be reconciled by reference to one supreme deity who presides over the others. The Upaniṣadic idea of '*aṅgânyanyā devatâḥ*' 'all other Gods are limbs to the One God' is here brought into play. The same idea is contained in what Arjuna says when he had the vision of *Viśva-rūpa :*

पश्यामि देवांस्तव देव देहे । सर्वांस्तथा भूतविशेषसंघान् ।
ब्रह्माणमीशं कमलासनस्थमृषींश्च सर्वानुरगांश्च दिव्यान् ॥ (XI. 15)

i.e. 'O God, in Thy Body, I see all deities, the highest, the Demiurge (Brahma), Rudra, the holy man, all life in short, divine in character (*Divyân*). In this, we find the Unity of God, whose body is constituted of all gods (minor, or graded down from the four-faced Brahma), and all beings of all descriptions without exception. Also we see here that all existence in toto is divine in character, for existence itself without the concept of Unity of God is void.

Then follows the verse :—

स तया श्रद्धया युक्तस्तस्याराधनमीहते । लभते च ततः कामान्मयैव विहितान्हि तान् ॥

(VII. 22)

i.e. 'Devotion thus made firm, the votary zealously worships his choice deity. By propitiation, he gets his particular petty wants granted ; but know that all grants have My own sanction behind them.' This and the previous verse bring out this fact clearly,

viz. that God is fully aware of the natures of man, which assort them with divinities akin to their liking. This partiality for lower deities is countenanced because it develops some day into intense religious fervour for which the preoccupation with lower forms of worship is a preparation in that it enables the human personality to grow in depth and warmth. It is a step in the ladder of God-realization. Affections wherever formed, though partly, and fragmentarily, are *per se* good, for they are formed in and for higher planes of life and consciousness than man's own petty interests, and as such should be fostered and not alienated. (न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेत् etc.). The sprout should be allowed to grow and not nipped in the bud; till a time arrives when the employment of pruning becomes timely. Then, all minor Gods are discarded; found as a whole abiding in the one supreme God *the fons et origo* of all deities. The evolution of the idea of one supreme God is here manifest.

Then follows the verse :—

अन्तवत्तु फलं तेषां तद्भवत्यल्पमेधसाम् । देवान्देवयजो यान्ति मद्भक्ता यान्ति मामपि ॥
(VII. 23)

i.e. " It is only the small in intellect that resort to the lesser gods; but the fruit they obtain is correspondingly small. Those who worship those gods go to them; those who worship Me come to Myself." The reward is commensurate with the power of the giver. The All powerful has in His power to grant the highest reward. He gives Himself.

The foregoing verses are from the Seventh Chapter of the *Gīta*; the Ninth echoes the argument in this verse :

यान्ति देवव्रता देवान्पितॄन्यान्ति पितृव्रताः। भूतानि यान्ति भूतेज्या यान्ति मद्याजिनोऽपि माम् ॥
(IX. 25)

i.e. " The Deva-worshippers go to the Devas; the pitṛ worshippers go to the pitṛs; the spirit-worshippers to the spirits but My worshippers come to Me.' The Devas and the Pitṛs are strata in super-human levels of existence." To the Deva-Kingdom belong deities presiding over elements, such as :

वायुर्यमोऽग्निर्वरुणः शशाङ्कः प्रजापतिस्त्वं प्रपितामहश्च । (XI. 39)

i.e. ' *Vâyu* presiding over the element Air; *Yama* over Justice; *Agni* over Fire; *Varuna* over water; *Śaśâṅka* (Moon) over plant-

Kingdom; *Prajāpati*, the Lords of creation; and *prapitāmaha*, the Demiurge presiding over all, the Diety of a *Brahmanda* or cosmic system." This verse cannot but recall to our minds the famous passage in the Ṛgveda already quoted which states: That which is *one* sages name in various ways; they call it Agni, Yama, Matarisvan'. Max Müller says that such hymns show the monotheistic character of the Vedic religion; and hymns such as these, 'assert the unity of the divine as fearlessly as any passage of the old Testament or the Koran'. (P. 144. *India, what can it teach us*?)

Finally, in the seventeenth Chapter of the *Gīta*, we find the verse :—

यजन्ते सात्त्विका देवान्यक्षरक्षांसि राजसाः। प्रेतान्भूतगणांश्चान्ये यजन्ते तामसा जनाः ॥

(XVII. 4)

i.e. Men of pure disposition worship the good Gods; those of mixed disposition worship *Yakṣas* and *Rākṣasas*, or deities of mixed character; those of impure disposition worship *Pretas* and *Bhūtas*.

According to the following, however,

येऽप्यन्यदेवता भक्ताः यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः। तेऽपि मामेव कौन्तेय यजन्त्यविधिपूर्वकं ॥

(IX. 23)

i.e. "Those who resort to all sorts of deities and entities, drawn thereto by choice, though the way through them ultimately leads to Me, it is not direct or according to My final dictate!" The purport of this would seem to be that those who would short-circuit their salvation, so to say, may avoid the circuitous, zigzag, labyrinthine paths and take the straight royal road leading to the one supreme God. Both time and trouble are saved thereby.

The several illustrative verses quoted and explained above indicate the spirit of toleration and compromise with which the polytheistic and animistic tendencies came to be gradually assimilated into a monotheistic religion which forms the best synthesis that Hinduism had to offer in bringing the several strata of society and religious beliefs into one common mould. This power of assimilation of the lower into the higher has always been the unique character of Hinduism. This spirit of compromise

is nowhere better expressed than in the following verse of the Gita :—

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् । मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥

(IV. 11)

i.e. "In whatever way, mode or direction, the votaries choose to worship me, in those very manners, I accommodate myself to them, for they everywhere tread the path that is Mine."

This Philosophy of the Bhagavad Gīta thus winds its way through the labyrinthine paths of searching for the unknown God and then rises to the heights where its vision of the Unity of God is serene and clear. 'I am One' and 'I am All' constitute the very spirit of its message to the world. The culmination of this ideal of the Unity of God is found expressed in the famous verse:

सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज । अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥

(XVIII. 66)

i.e. Abandoning all rites and writ duties come unto me alone for shelter, sorrow not, I will liberate thee from all sins.

The victory of the idea of One God over many gods is illustrated in the 'Govardhana' legend in the life of Kṛṣṇa where he preaches that the worship of many gods is to be abandoned to the worship of one God. 'Give Me, the one God, your offerings'. Thus he exhorted those who were accustomed to offer their annual tribute to Indra. In this we see the struggle for supremacy of the One-God idea.

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A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE CONQUEST OF TONḌAIMAṆḌALAM BY ĀDITYA I.

K. S. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A.

THAT the Cōḷa king Āditya I annexed the country of the Pallavas, which gave him the occasion to assume the significant prefix 'Toṇḍaināḍu-pāviṉa' to his name Rājakēśarivarmaṉ, is well known. But the exact date when he accomplished this is yet to be definitely ascertained. The date of accession of Nṛipatuṅga, A.D. 844-5, is a fixed point in the later Pallava chronology [1], and the facts that his highest regnal year so far discovered is twenty-six, equivalent to A.D. 870, that he was succeeded by Aparājita who ruled for not less than eighteen years, have shown that the date of annexation of Toṇḍaināḍu, which was accomplished after the defeat and killing of Aparājita by Āditya I, lay after A.D. 870-1. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar concluded from an inscription of Āditya I found at Tirumālpuram in Conjeevaram, that the event may be placed approximately in about A.D. 888 [2]. Before proceeding further, we may note that it is not improbable that Aparājita might have been appointed *Yuvarāja* by Nṛipatuṅga himself, whom he succeeded, sometime prior to his last year of reign. About a dozen records of Aparājita have been secured and the earlist of them are dated in the third year of his reign [3]. In the absence of any records dated prior to that date, we may state that Aparājita had been appointed *Yuvarāja* in *Circa* A.D. 868-9 and that he actually ascended the throne in his second year which corresponded to the twenty-sixth year of Nṛipatuṅga, *i.e.* A.D. 870. As such his last known year *i.e.* eighteenth, would correspond to A.D. 886-7.

There are three inscriptions at Uttaramallūr which throw some light on the problem. Two of them belong to the reign of Nṛipatuṅga and the third to that of a Rājakēśarivarman. Though they are fragmentary and very short, yet the preserved portions are sufficient to give us an altogether tolerable idea of their full contents. Their texts are appended here for easy reference.

1. Ep. Ind. Vol. XX. p. 49 and 'Three Lectures' by K. V. S. Aiyar, p. 103.
2. *Ibid.* Vol. XX. p. 49.
3. Nos. 351 of 1908 and 62 of 1923.

All the three make mention of a certain chief who was popularly known as Kāḍakadi Araiyar. His full name seems to have been Kāḍavadiyar or Kāḍavadiyaraiyaṉ Viśaiyanallūḻāṉ *alias* Pūdi Dhīraṉ. He is stated to have been a native of Kūkūr, in Viḷā-nāḍu situated in the western division (*mīkūṟu*) of Muttaraiyar-nāḍu. In the reign of Nṛipatuṅga he made a *brahmadēya* gift in Uttaramallūr [4]. In the twenty-sixth year of the same king, he had purchased lands which are said to have been in the fields which lay un-allotted and un-subdivided, in the locality called Kiḻpūṇḍi, situated to the south of Kiḻāḍalampūṇḍi, belonging to the lake Peruṅgōṭṭēri, which was in the southern hamlet (*teṉ-piḍāgai*) of Uttaramallūr [5]. Though the object of the purchase of this land lying fallow and un-allotted, is not preserved in the inscription, it seems to have been the building of the two shrines on the site to S'iva and Viṣṇu, which are mentioned as having been bulit by him in the third inscription which belongs to the reign of Rājakēśarivarmaṉ. This Cōḷa record, though incomplete, states that for the maintenance and living of men who were to be employed for the services which were necessary for the working of the two shrines, *viz.* persons for performing worship (*ārādikka-kaḍava paṇiśeymagaṉ*), *Vaikhānasas*, *Dharmis*, and the other men who were needed for carrying out different tasks connected with the temple (*maṟṟum paṇiśeyyum paṇimakkḷ*), *jīvitas* were made [6]. From these it is clear that the construction of the two shrines had been completed by the date of the third record, and that for the commencement of worship etc. the institution of the respective temple servants were made and provisions for their living had also been granted. Now the importance of the three inscriptions will be apparent if the Rājakēśarivarmaṉ to whose seventeenth year of reign the last epigraph belongs, is identified. There were two Rājakēśarivarmaṉs who had a reign of seventeen and more years, after the time of Nṛipatuṅga in whose last years Kādavaḍi-araiyar, who constructed the two minor shrines mentioned in the Cōḷa record, figured. They were Rājakēśarivarmaṉ Āditya I (A.D. 870-909) and

4. Inscription I below.
5. Inscription II below.
6. Inscription III below.

Rājakēśarivarmaṉ Parāntaka II *alias* Sundara Cōḷa (*Circa* A.D.954-970). The palæographical evidence of the inscription under consideration shows that it belongs to the ninth century. It would therefore belong to the time of Āditya I, rather than to the rule of Sundara Cōḷa who belonged to the latter half of the tenth century. Further, the fact that the construction of the two minor shrines by Kāḍavadi-araiyar, who, as shown above, was a contemporary of Nṛipatuṅga in his last years, also necessarily implies that the minor shrines had been built by the end of the ninth century, and that A.D. 970, the seventeenth and last year of Sundara Cōḷa, would be too late a date for their completion. When it is remembered that Āditya I continued the grants and respected the beneficient works or meritorious deeds of the preceeding donors, as is clear from the express statement of that Cōḷa king in a Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟm epigraph of his twenty-seventh year of reign where it is stated that he confirmed the grants made by earlier Pallava sovereigns[7], our identification is amply confirmed. Thus it is probable that the third year belongs only to the reign of Rājakēśarivarmaṉ who was identical with Āditya I. Hence the date of the record, the seventeenth year of Āditya I, is A.D. 887.

This inscription being found in Uttaramlūar, in the centre of the Pallava country, proves therefore that the conquest of Toṇḍaināḍu by Āditya I, took place during or before the seventeenth year of his reign *i.e.* on or before A.D. 887, confirming the conclusion of Mr. Aiyar and making the date more definite.

It is thus clear that the construction of the two minor shrines had been completed probably in the last years of the reign of Aparājita and that arrangements for the commencement of worship etc. to the gods of the shrine and the institution of the several temple servants remained to be made. When the Cōḷa king Āditya I conquered the country and annexed it, he attended to the matter in the seventeenth year of his reign and started the performance of worship and granted *jīvitas* for the various persons employed.

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7. Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan, p. 213.

I [8]

1. Śvasti Śri [ll*] Kō Viśaiya Nṛipatuṅgavikramavarmmaṟku yāṇḍu......
2. Kāraṇai Kāḍavadiyaraiyar=iḍai=ppiramadēyam peṟṟa Bhāradvāja. ...
3. irukkālāvadum i=k Kāḍavadiyaraiyaṉ=āgiya Pūdi Dhīraṉukku im=mēṟcho ...... [9].

II [10]

1. Śvasti S'ri [ll*] Kō Viśaiya Nṛipatuṅgavikramavarmaṟku yāṇḍu irubāttārāvadu Kā-
2. ḷiyur=kkōṭṭattu=taṉkūṟṟ= Uttaramēruchchaturvēdimaṅ-galattu śabhaiyōm
3. nila vila [i] āvaṇak=kai eḻuttu Muttaraiyarnāṭṭu mī-kūṟṟu Viḷānāṭṭu=k Kūkūr [Kū]
4. kur Viśayanallūḷāṉ Kāḍavadi [yaraya] ṉ=āgiya Pūdi Dhīraṉukka emm=ūr=tteṉ=piḍāgai.
5. Peruṅgōṭṭērik=Kīḻāḍalampūṇḍi=tteṟku=kkūriḍādekiḍanda Kīḻppūṇḍiyum [11].

III [12]

1. Śvasti Śri [ll*] Kōvi=Rājakēśarivarmmaṟku yāṇḍu padinēḻāvadu [13] Kāḷiyūr=kkōṭṭattu taṉkūṟṟ=Uttara-mēruchchaturvēdimaṅgala—
2. ttu Mahāśabhaiyōm=eḻuttu emmūr=k Kāḍakadi Araiyar eḍuppitta sumukhapratishṭaiyāṇa Īśvar [āl] ai [ya*] mu [m*]. Vishṇugra [ha*] mu [m*]
3. iraṇḍutaḷidēva [r*] kum ārā [dhi] kkakaḍava paṇisemagaṉ Vaikhānāsarum Dharmigaḷum maṟṟum paṇiseyyum paṇimakkaḷukkum jīvitamākki [14].

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8. S. I. I. Vol. V. No. 367. On the east wall of the Vaikuntha Perumāḷ temple in Uttaramallūr, Madhurantakam taluk, Chingleput District. As the date of the previous inscription and No. II above, which are engraved one after the other in the same wall, are 25th and 26th years of this same king, this inscription (I) may be taken to have belonged to either of the two years *i.e.* A.D. 869 or 870.
9. Incomplete. The *puḷḷi* of this record and No. II is denoted by a wavy line above the letters.
10. S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 368.
11. Incomplete.
12. S. I. I. Vol. V. No. 376. On a stone lying near the Iraṭṭaitaḷigai Īs'vara temple in the same village.
13. The year is expressed in words and therefore leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the reading.
14. Incomplete.

THE STORY OF THE ASURAS

BY RAO SAHIB N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU, M.A., L.T.

(Continued from Vol. XXXV. No. 2. page 107)

(VII) NARMADA VALLEY—AN ANCIENT SEAT OF CULTURE

The Vedic and the Upaniṣadic literature shows the stages by which our ancient civilisation and culture proceeded from *Saptasindhu* in the North West of Bharatavarṣa to the fertile plains of the Gangetic valley. The religion of *Yajña* and *Tapas* developed in the region covered by the Ganga and Yamuna. From the Skānda Purāṇa, Mahesvara Khānda, it looks as if another stream of culture and civilisation passed down from the same *Saptasindhu* region southwards along the waters represented by the Sindhu (Indus) today. The region was then watered by the rivers Sarasvatī and Narmadā, as we see from our Purāṇas. The recent archæological discoveries in the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa regions have revealed above all an ancient seat of culture and civilisation in that region, based on *bhakti* and the worship of S'iva primarily. In the Skānda Purāṇa, it is said that Nāradā colonised twenty-six thousand Brāhmaṇas, in the Valley of the Narmadā, of whom 8,000 were taken by Kapila. The very sight of Narmadā is said to be as holy as a bath in the Ganges (Kārtika Māhatmya, ch-23. sl. 11). Mahīśa, the great asura, who was killed by Dēvi, as Mahālakṣmi, had his capital at Māhiṣmati which later became the capital of the Haihayas, a branch of the Yādava race, itself a branch of the Lunar race. It is said that the great asura Tāraka, who was killed by Skanda, the son of S'aṅkara, had his capital at Mahīnagara (Cambay) in that very region of Narmadā. When the asuras were got rid of, a great colony of Brāhmaṇas developed there and several shrines of S'iva, Viṣṇu, Skanda and Dēvi grew up. The whole region is named *Mahīsāgara Sangamakṣetra* and *Hātakeśvarakṣetra* and a beautiful account of them is given in the Kaumārika Khānda and the Nāgara Khā of the Skānda Purāṇa. The Baroda Durbar informed me through its talented Dewan Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, that the Mahīkṣetra is still in existence as Cambay at the mouth of the Māhī river in Gujarat. It is said that the sage Cyavana who once bathed

in Narmadā, was taken by a snake to *Pātāḷa*, where he saw Prahlāda, the great devotee of Viṣṇu. Prahlāda learnt from Cyavana that three great *tīrthas* in Bharatavarṣa were Naimiṣa, Chakra and Puṣkara *tīrthas*. Prahlāda and Cyavana went up to the region again for a sight of the holy *tīrthas*. (Dēvi Bhāgavata IV. 8). These facts show that the reigon of Narmadā must have been a great seat of the civilisation and culture of the dēvas and the asuras in those ancient times.

The following identification given of the shrines mentioned in the Skānda Purāṇa in the map of India, affords an interesting reading:

NOTES SUPPLIED BY MR. C. V. JOSHI, RAJDAFTARDAR OF THE BARODA DURBAR

1—An area of seven *kosas* round about Cambay is called Kaumārikakṣetra. Cambay is referred to as Kamane by Ptolemy and as Kammoni by Periplus. River Māhī is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and by Ptolemy. Cambay is situated at the mouth of the Māhī and is rightly called the *mahīsāgara Sangama*. The shrine of Somnath at Prabhas is on the way from Cambay to Dvāraka, as the Skānda Purāṇa says. Cambay is the same as Stamba,—the Pillar of Victory—set up by Skanda after killing Tāraka. (*Kambha* in Gujarati, *Kamba* in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada, for pillar), it is the Stambha *tīrtha* mentioned in the Skānda Purāṇa. Kambayat (Cambay) is derivable from Stambha *tīrtha*.

2. The Purāṇa mentions Mahī-Nagara as the capital of Tāraka. At present its site is occupied by a village called Nagara two miles north of Cambay. An inscription bearing the legend—*S'rī Nārada Muni vinivāsita S'rī Nagaraka Mahāsthāne* of the time of Vastupāla was obtained from a temple in this village.

3. Kapila and Nāradi Brāhmaṇas still live in the Jambusar Taluk, which is a few miles south of Cambay, on the opposite bank of Māhī.

4. Of the thirty-one holy places mentioned in the region according to the Skānda Purāṇa, the following are still traceable:—

Ancient images of Brahma and his two consorts are worshipped at a private house at the Nagara village.

Stambhes'vara temple converted into the Jumma Masjid stands at Cambay, though a small temple of recent date is pointed out as Stambheśvara by the local Hindus.

Jayāditya temple dedicated to the Sun-God exists intact at Nagara. The image is in good condition.

Kotis'vara Mahādēva temple lying two miles north of Nagara must be the old Kotilinga and Kotitīrtha.

Kumārnātha temple at Cambay must be the later substitute for Kumāres'vara or the Sarvatīrtha.

The site of the temple of Kumārika Dēvi is now occupied by the offices of the Durbar of the Nabob of Cambay.

Of the four forms of Durga mentioned in the Purāṇa only one can now be identified viz. the *Gayatrādesvari Mātā* at Gatrad near Ahmedabad.

Vata-Yakṣiṇi of the Skānda Purāṇa is traceable in the modern *Vadooci Mātā* a few miles west of Cambay.

Tārāpur, a village on the border between Cambay and Baroda States is said to derive its name from Tāraka. A little hill near Tārāpur is called Daityani-Tekdi.

5. Excavation for well-digging or for taking foundations, for houses often results in securing oversize bricks, S'iva liṅgas, and images, which show that archæological operations, if undertaken in the area will yield good results.

Note :—It is significant that the Parsis who worship Ahura (Asura) inhabit to this day the region of the Narmadā Valley and its neighbourhood. (Vide my Paper on "Zend Avesta and Atharva Vēda," in this Journal Vol. XXX. pp. 397-417.)

Hātakes'vara Mahādēva is the tutelary God of Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, who evidently bear this caste name derived from Nāgara (Mahīnagara). The Nāgara Brāhmaṇa is one of the most highly intelligent and cultured communities of the Bombay Province and many eminent men in various spheres of life belong to this group. The temple of Hātakes'vara stands at Vadnagar, a place about ninety miles North-West of Cambay (Mahīnagar) in this

State. The S'ivaliṅga must have been transferred from the Arab infested coast inland for safety, after the Muslim invasions of Gujarat threatened its existence.

The temple of Hātakes'vara Mahādēva is visited by thousands of pilgrims of the Nagara Brāhmaṇas and Vaiśya castes, who hold it as their tutelary deity.

Vadnagar is a railway station on the Mehsana-Taranga section of the Baroda State Railway. It is about thirty-two miles from Mehsana, the head-quarters of a division of the State (23° N ; 72° E.)

From Nāgara Khānda it is clear, that the deity Hātakes'vara, the liṅga in gold established in *Pātāla* and later at Arbuda (Mount Abu) must have been shifted to Vadanagar. In the Travellers' Companion published under the orders of the Railway Board in 1907 on page 173-174, it is said under Mount Abu, that the present three-storied temple dedicated to Ṛṣabanāth (Mahādēva or S'aṅkara) the first of the twenty-four Jain Teerthankaras, stands on the site of the temples dedicated to S'iva and Viṣṇu ; it also says that the site was purchased for the Jain temple. The fact that the temple at Mount Abu is the temple of Ṛṣabhanātha, (S'aṅkara) the first Jain Teerthankara, shows that the Jains must have made this shrine a Jain shrine and that Hātakeśvara liṅga must have been shifted to Vadanagar for safety and continued to be worshipped their by the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, whose glory forms the theme of the Nāgara Khānda of the Skānda Purāṇa. Brahma performed his Yagña at Hātakes'vara *Kṣetra* and the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas were the most godly and powerful race of Brāhmaṇas in that Age.

(VIII) THE EPISODE OF THE MILKING OF "EARTH"

The fine episode of the milking of "Earth" as a cow by the first king on earth, Pṛthu, the son of Vena, is very interesting and instructive. The earth gets the name "*Pṛthvi*" from this illustrious first King of the world. The milking of *viraj* (the Universe) (see my Legend of Vena and the Atharva Veda Q J M S Vol. XXIX. Pages 289-303) occurs in the pauraṇic form as the milking of earth as cow in the Mahābhārata, Drōṇa Parva

Ch. 59, in the Harivaṁṣa, I. Ch. 6, in the Padma Purāṇa, II-Bhūmi Khānda, Ch. 28 etc. In the Padma Purāṇa it is stated that King Pṛthu had his royal seat on the bank of Rewa (Narmadā). His father Vena was a bad ruler and he called upon all the subjects to propitiate him as the Supreme Being and do all *Yagñas* in his honour alone. The Ṛṣs were displeased, and by writhing the left thigh of Vena, they produced the Nis'adhas, and from the right-hand palm of Vena they produced Pṛthu and made him the ruler of the world. The earth did not yield anything and was barren. So Pṛthu cut the earth right through with his weapon and made the earth even. Then the earth yielded to all the divine and human beings and the beings of the nether worlds all their desires in various ways. The story shows that there was a feud between the asuric and the daivic force, indicated by Vena and Pṛthu. Their place of abode was on the bank of Narmadā. The story shows that the first colonisation and settlement in Western India was in the valley of Narmadā. This fits in with the account given of the long conflicts between the devas and the asuras in that region. The Skānda Purāṇa refers to the Brāhmaṇa colonies established in that region by Nārada and Kapila. Thus the purāṇas give us very valuable data to reconstruct the ancient history of Western India, and the recent archaeological discoveries in Western India give many valuable clues to reconstruct the history of Western India in the ancient days. These two have to be collated and worked out in a systematic manner.

Note:—An exhaustive and a very interesting account of the life of Vena is given in Padma Purāṇa II. Bhūmi Khānda Ch. 26-125. Vena at first was a righteous ruler who under the influence of the Jaina teachings, became bad. At the end, he repented, became virtuous and was raised to the abode of Viṣṇu.

(*Concluded.*)

PATAÑJALI AND THE LINGUISTIC CHANGES

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"To show in detail the differences between Kātyāyana and Patañjali would be a task full of interest, and highly instructive, as showing the progress which the science of grammar had undoubtedy made from the time of Kātyāyana to that of Patañjali, and as tracing in the work of the latter the germs of those failings which have continued growing and increasing in the works of the later grammarians ever since. But that task does not lie within the scope of this enquiry, nor would the materials at my command justify my undertaking it at present. My purpose is attained if in future it will be impossible to stigmatize Kātyāyana as an *unfair antagonist* of Pāṇini, and to speak of Patañjali as *refuting* the Vārtika of Kātyāyana, or *justifying* Pāṇini."

So wrote Kielhorn concluding his very learned essay on Kātyāyana and Patañjali (Bombay 1876). After him textual research in Pāṇini for long remained where he had left it. In my papers which I have published recently in various Oriental Journals I have ventured to carry it a step further. In the papers entiled 'Kātyāyana"[1] and "An Important Aspect of Patañjalian Technique of Interpretation"[2] I have corroborated the view that Kātyāyana was not an unfair antagonist of Pāṇini. Here I propose to show the "Progress which the science of grammar had undoubtedly made from the time of Kātyāyana to that of Patañjali." What I have said in regard to the nature and scope of my enquiry into the Kātyāyana Vārtikas[3] applies to this also. This paper corroborates the view which I have set forth in my paper in the Indian Culture (Vol. VII. 4) *viz.* that Patañjali's aim is not to defend Pāṇini but to bring the work of his (Patañjali's) preceessors up-to-date.

Pāṇini. 1. 1. 29. This Sūtra says that the words '*Sarva*' etc. not treated as *Sarvanāmans* when they are intended to be employed

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1. Poona Orientalist V. 2-3 Pp. and VI. 1-2. Pp. 76-92.
2. Indian Culture VII. 4. Pp. 433-446.
3. Poona Orientalist VI. 1-2. Pp. 76-92.

in a *Bahuvrīhi* compound. The object of this prohibition is to avoid the affix अकच् taught by *P.* 5. 3. 71 and to have the ordinary affix क taught by *P.* 5. 3. 70. Accordingly Pāṇini has the forms त्वकत्पितृकः and मकत्पितृकः. Kātyāyana does not differ from Pāṇini. But Patañjali accepts the forms त्वकत्पितृकः and मकत्पितृकः (अकच् is inserted before टि) and rejects this Sūtra.

1. 3. 25. The verb '*Sthā*' preceded by '*upa*', takes the *Ātmanepada* terminations in two more instances in Patañjali's time (*i*) when it means *Mitrakaraṇa* (to form friendship with) and (*ii*) *Pathi* (to lead to as a way).

e. g. रथिकानुपातिष्ठते । पन्थाः स्रुघ्नमुपतिष्ठते ॥

1. 3. 51. Pāṇini teaches the use of the root '*gṛ*' (*Tudādi*) in *Ātmanepada* when it is preceeded by the Upasarga '*ava*'. Kātyāyana emends this Sūtra into अवाद्ग्रो गिरतेः to exclude '*gṛṇāti*' belonging to the *Kryādi* class. According to Patañjali, the latter is not used after the preposition '*ava*' and there is no need for emendation.

1. 3. 64. Pāṇini says that the root '*yuj*' with the *Upasargas* *par*' and '*upa*' is conjugated in the *Ātmanepada* when it is not used in reference to sacrificial vessels. Patañjali says that this verb takes the *Ātmanepada* terminations when it is combined with any preposition beginning with a vowel. He then gives the opinion of another grammarian according to whom the *Ātmanepada* is employed when the *Upasarga* begins or ends with a vowel.

अपर आह—स्वराद्यन्तोपसृष्टादिति वक्तव्यम् ।

The latter includes all *Upasargas* except '*sam*', '*nir*' and '*dur*'. From these two statements two more post-Pāṇinan stages may be recognised in the extension of the *Ātmanepada* in the case of '*yuj*' used with *Upasargas*, one represented by Patañjali and the other by the grammarian referred to by him.

1. 4. 17. Patañjali extends *Padasaṃjñā* to two more words, namely भुवद्वद्ध्यः and धारयद्वद्ध्यः

1. 4. 51. Pāṇini and Kātyāyana speak only of Karma. Karma defined in the following Śloka Vārtika (quoted by Patañjali from some earlier works), is a much later idea.

विपरीतं तु यत्कर्म तत्कल्म कवयो विदुः ।

अपरिसमाप्तं कर्म कल्म (imperfect action).

2. In the end of his commentary on this Sūtra, Patañjali, gives us two forms allowing an option in the use of the accusative case in the following case.

नेताश्वस्य स्रुघ्नम् । नेताश्वस्य स्रुघ्नस्य ।

The former must have been the earlier usage and the latter must have come in vogue when the use of the genitive case was liberalised later to a large extent.

1. 4. 20. Pāṇini in this Sūtra says that the Vedic words like *ayasmaya* etc. are treated as '*Bha*'. But there are irregularities in the Veda and some words have to be treated as both *Pada* and *Bha*.

Patañjali : [4] उभयसंज्ञान्यपीति वक्तव्यम् ।

For instance, the Vedic word '*ṛkvata*' (R. V. IV. 50, 5) is first treated as to *Pada* change च् to क् and then as *Bha* to avoid the change of ग् to क् before '*vat*'.

2. 1. 37. The optional compounding of a word ending with the fifth case affix is allowed by Patñjali with more words, namely *bhīta*, *bhīti*, *bhī*, *nirgata* and *jugupsu*. Pāṇini gives only one, namely, *bhava*.

2. 2. 18. (*i*) The Vārtika प्रादयः क्तार्थे says that *Upasargas* like *pra* etc. are compounded with a word ending with the first case affix.

Eg. प्रगत आचार्यः प्राचार्यः ॥

Patañjali informs us that the Saunāgas have the following list.

स्वती पूजायाम् । सुराजा । अतिराजा ।

दुर्निन्दायाम् । दुष्कुलम् । दुर्गवः ।

आङीषदर्थे । आकडारः । आपिङ्गलः ।

कुः पापार्थे । कुब्राह्मणः । कुवृषलः ।

प्रदयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया । प्राचार्यः ।

अत्यादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया । अतिखट्वः । अतिमालः ।

अवादयः क्रुष्टाद्यर्थे तृतियया । अवकोकिलः ।

पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थ्या । पर्यध्ययनः ।

निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या । निष्कौशाम्बिः ।

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4. See also Patañjaii on 8. 2. 8.

(*ii*) Patañjali gives the following three types of compounds also under this Sūtra.

(*a*) An *Avyaya* (indeclinable) is compounded with words like *pravṛddha* etc. *e. g. punaḥ-pravṛddham.*

(*b*) It is compounded with a *Tiṅanta* word ending with a tense affix and preceeded by a '*Gati*', *e.g. anuvyacalat.*

(*c*) A word is compounded with '*iva*' retaining its case-affix and original accent, *e.g. vāsasī-iva.*

The inclusion of these three types among compounds was a later event and was probably to safeguard the position of the accent of the first member.

3. 1. 16.—Patañjali extends the use of the affix क्यङ् in the (in the sense of ejecting) to one more word, namely, *phenāyate.*

3. 1. 17.—Patañjali includes the following words among those that take the affix, क्यङ्.

अटा अटायते । अट्ट अट्टायते । शीका शीकायते ।
कोटा कोटायते । पोटा पोटायते । सोटा सोटायते ।
प्रुष्टा प्रुष्टायते । प्लुष्टा प्लुष्टायते ।

In all probability, these are onomato-poetic sounds which crept into the language after Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.

3. 1. 22.—In Pāṇini's [5] language the intensive affix यङ् was confined to monosyllabic roots beginning with a consonant. Kātyāyana, as we have seen above, extended it to '*ūrṇu*', a dis-syllabic root beginning with a vowel. In Patañjali's language the following roots also take the affix यङ्. Some of them are not monosyllabic and others do not begin with a vowel.

अशी अशाश्यते । सूचि सोसूच्यते । सूति सोसूत्यते ।
मूति मोमूत्यते । अटि अटाट्यते । अर्ति अरार्यते ॥

2.3.2.—Patañjali gives the following words as governing the accusative case.

Abhitaḥ, paritaḥ, adhyanhi, dhik, ubhayataḥ, sarvataḥ, uparyupari, adhodaḥ and *pratiḥ.*

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cf. P. 3. 1, 22.

2. 3. 43.—Pāṇini excepts only '*prati*' when he says that the seventh case-affix is employed in conjunction with the words *sādhu* and *nipuṇa*. Patañjali applies the exception to some other words also. Says he : अप्रत्यादिभिरिति वक्तव्यम् । मातरमनु ।

2. 4. 30.—Some *Dvigu* compounds were given option in taking genders in Kātyāyana's time. Under this Sūtra Kātyāyana has the Vārtikas द्विगुश्च । वाबन्तः ।

When we come to Patañjali we see that this latitude is extended to other *Dvigu* compounds also. Compounds like *pañcatakṣan* etc. whose second member is formed with the affix '*an*' may be neuter and feminine.

Pañca-takṣam [6] or *pañca-takṣī*.

The use of some compounds like *pañca-pātra* in feminine is also prohibited. Says he :

पात्रादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । द्विपात्रम् पञ्चपातम् ।

2. 4. 74.—This Sūtra enjoins the elision of यङ् when अच् (P. 3. 1. 134) and other affixes follow :

e. g. लोलुवः पोपुवः etc.

Among the words thus derived from the intensives two seem to have changed their forms in the interval between Kātyāyana and Patañjali. According to Kātyāyana, the forms derived from '*sraṃs*' (to drop) and '*dhvaṃs*' (to fill) are '*sanīsrasa*' [7] and '*danīdhvasa*' respectively; according to Patañjali, they are *sanīsraṃsa* and *danīdhvaṃsa*.

Patañjali : [8] सनींस्रंसो ध्वंनीध्वंस इत्येव भवितव्यम् ॥

3. 1. 27. The roots of the Kaṇḍvādi group in reference to which Pāṇini enjoins the affix '*yak*' in this Sūtra, occur also as nouns. There is no reliable evidence to ascertain exactly their original nature. We have to be satisfied with the inference that can be drawn from the works of our grammarians. '*Kaṇḍū*' does not occur in the Ṛgveda either as a root or as a noun. *Kaṇḍūyate* is seen in the Taittirīya Saṃhita (6. 1. 3. 8 and 7. 1. 19. 3) and in the

6. 'n' of the affix 'an' is dropped in the compond.
7. See P. 6. 4. 24, 48-49 and P. 1. 1. 62.
8. See Kātyāyana and Patañjali on this Sūtra.

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa (3. 2. 1. 31). *Irajyati* and *bhuraṇyati* belonging to this group, occur in the *R. V.* 1. 7. 9, 8. 41. 9 and 1. 155. 5 besides *irajyavaḥ* (*R. V.* 10. 93. 3.) and *bhurṇyuḥ* (*R. V.* 1. 68. 1) etc.

Pāṇini has not expressly given his view. But the fact that he attaches the *Anubandha* '*k*' to the above affix (*yak*) to[9] prevent the operation of *Guṇa* when the root is followed by a *Sārvadhātuka*[10] or Ārdhadhātuka affix, shows that he regards them as roots. This view is also confirmed by the following Kātyāyana Vārtikas in which the discussion has proceeded on the assumption that they are only roots. The nouns *kaṇḍū* etc. were, of course, current even before Kātyāyana or Pāṇini. But they were regarded as *Kṛdantas* formed by the affix '*kvip*.'

Kātyāyana : कण्ड्वादिभ्यो वावचनम् ।

Patañjali : कण्ड्वादिभ्यो वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kātyāyana : अवचने हि नित्यप्रत्ययत्वम् ॥

Patañjali : अक्रियमाणे हि वावचने नित्यः प्रत्ययविधिः प्रसज्येत। तत्र को दोषः ?

Kātyāyana : तत्र धातुविधितुक्प्रतिषेधः ।

Patañjali : तत्र धातुविधेस्तुकश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः स्यात् ।

कण्ड्वौ कण्ड्वः अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ

इत्युवङादेशः प्रसज्येत । तुकच्च प्रतिषेद्धव्यः । वल्युः मन्तुरिति । ह्रस्वस्य

पिति कृति तुक्प्राप्नोति ॥

Kātyāyana : ह्रस्वयलोपौ च ॥

Patañjali : ह्रस्वस्यलोपौ च वक्तव्यौ स्याताम् । वल्युः मन्तुरितिय। किमर्थमिदं

न ह्रस्त्र एवायमन्तरङ्गत्वात् । अकृधकार इति दीर्घत्वं प्राप्नोति ॥

From this it is clear that according to Kātyāyana, words like *kaṇḍū* etc. are derived from the respective roots with the *Kṛt* affix क्विप् *i. e.* they are derivative words and not *Avyutpannaprātipadikas.* Like many other *Ākṛtigaṇas Kaṇḍvādi*, too, has had later addition of words[11] which had been only nouns (*Avyutpannapratipadiks*) in Pāṇini's language.

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9. क्क्ङिति च P. 1. 1. 5.
10. Affixes which come after roots and not after Prātipadikas are called Sārvadhātuka and Ārdhadhātuka.
11. See Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, 437, 438 and 439 and the author's commentary thereon.

Cf. *Uṣasyati*, *tirasyati*, *sambhūyasyati*, *magadhyati*, etc. In Pāṇini's language the affix '*yak*' was employed in *Svārtha*. It did not stand for any specific significance apart from that of the root. To Pāṇini *kaṇḍūyate* meant only कण्डूर्भवति. But a semantic change is noticeable in the days of Durga.

Vardhamāna says : [12]पाणिनिशकटाङ्गजदिग्वस्त्रवामनमतेन स्वार्थे कण्ड्वावादिभ्यः प्रत्ययः। चन्द्रादीनांमते करोत्यथे ॥

Patañjali's view.

Patañjali rejects the above Vārtikas as follows :

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम्? न वर्तव्यम् उभयं कण्ड्वावादीनि धातवश्चैव प्रातिपादिकानि च । आतश्चोभयम्-कण्डूयतीति क्रियां कुर्वाणे प्रयुज्यतेऽस्ति मे कण्डूरिति वेदनामातस्य सांनिध्ये ॥

अपर आह—

धातुप्रकरणाद्धातुः कस्य चासञ्जनादपि ।
आह चायमिमं दीर्घं मन्ये धातुर्विभाषितः ।

3. 1. 35. Pāṇini in this Sūtra says that the affix '*ām*' is added to the root '*kās*' (to cough) and to those roots which are formed by the affixes (the derivative verbs), in the Perfect (*Liṭ*); but not in the Vedas. It has already been pointed out that the sphere of the periphrastic '*ām*' was gradually widened. Patañjali substitutes the word *anekācaḥ* in the room of *pratyayāt* and the perfect of all polysyllabic roots is formed periphrastically in his language.

Patañjali : एवं तर्हि कास्यनेकाच इति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । चुलुम्पाद्यर्थम् ; चुलुम्पांचकार। दरिद्रांचकार ॥

3. 1. 36. According to this Sūtra, the periphrastic '*ām*' is used in the perfect of roots beginning with *Ic* (vowels except '*a*' and '*ā*') and containing a heavy vowel, except *ṛccha*. Kātyāyana applies prohibition to *ūrṇu* also. Patañjali points out that the prohibition with regard to *ūrṇu* need not be stated as it (*ūrṇu*) has to be treated as '*ṇu*' (monosyllabic) even for other purposes, namely, to [13] enable it to take the intensive affix and to avoid the insertion of '*iṭ*'.

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12. Ibid, 439.
13. See P. 3, 1. 22 and 7. 2. 11.

[14] उर्णोतेश्चोपसंख्यानं कर्तव्याम् । प्रोर्णुनाव । न वक्तव्यम् ।
वाच्य ऊर्णोर्णुवद्भावो यङ्प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनम् ॥
आमश्च प्रतिषेधार्थमेकाचश्चोड्डपग्रहात् ।

3. 1. 89. Pāṇini prohibits the affixes '*yak*' (3. 1. 67) and *ciṇ*' (3. 1. 62) in the reflexive voice of the verbs '*duh*' (to milk) '*snu*' (to fall in drops) and '*nam*' (to bow), *e.g. adugdha, prāsnoṣṭa, anaṃsta.*

Kātyāyana applies the prohibition to two other roots, namely, *śri* and *brūñ* and to all causatives. (हेतुमण्णिच्).

Kātāyāna: यक्चिणेा: प्रतिषेधे हेतुमण्णिश्रिब्रूञामुपसंख्यानम् ।

The Bhāradvājīyas, according to Patañjali, have the following Vārtika.

यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधे णिश्रन्थिग्रन्थिब्रूञात्मनेपदाकर्मकाणामुपसंख्यानम् ।

In cases like this,[15] there exists internal evidence to show that the author of the Bhāradvāja Vārtikas flourished long after Kātyāyana.

3. 1. 97. The suffix '*yat*' ordained by this Sūtra was in Pāṇini's language confined to roots ending in a vowel, *e.g.* गेयम्, पेयम्, चेयम्, etc.

The word *janya* is derived by Kātyāyana with this affix from the root '*jan*,' which ends in a consonant. We would have got the form *janya* even by the affix *ṇyat* enjoined by P. 3. 1. 24; but it is for the sake of the accent taught by P. 6. 1. 213 that the Vārtika gives '*yat*' instead of *ṇyat*. The accent of *ṇyat* is regulated by P. 6. 1. 185.

Kātyāyana: यति जनेरुपसंख्यनम् ।

Patañjali has some more roots ending in a consonant to be enumerated in addition to those given by his predecessors.

अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते । तकिशासिचतियतिजनीनामुपसंख्यानमिति वक्तव्यम् ।
तक्याम्, शस्यम्, चत्यम्, यत्यम्, जन्यम् ।

3. 2, 24. Under this Sūtra we have the supplementary note. स्तम्बशकृतोर्व्रीहिवत्सयोः printed as a Kātyāyana Vārtika in Kielhorn's

14. See also Patañjali on 3. 1. 22.
15. See also Patañjali on 1. 1. 20 and 6. 4. 155.

edition. It has to be pointed out that Patañjali is a very systematic grammarian and in commenting upon the Vārtikas of different authors, he adopts different methods which in themselves are strictly uniform. He maintains uniformity even in statements of his own opinions, which, though appear like repetitions to a casual reader, have their own definite purpose to serve. The wise grammarian has left this safe clue for us. He does not usually comment upon a Kātyāyana Vārtika without repeating the same. For instance.

Kātyāna किंयत्तद्बहुषु कृञोऽज्विधानम् । 3, 2, 21 (1)

Pañjali किंयत्तद्बहुषु कृञोऽज्विधानं कर्तव्यम् ।

Kātyāyana भृञः कुक्ष्यात्मनोर्मुम्च । 3, 2, 26 (1)

Patañjali भृञः कुक्ष्यात्मनोर्मुम्चेति वक्तव्यम् ।

On the other hand, Patañjali's comment on the Vārtika under discussion is only व्रीहिवत्सयोरिति वक्तव्यम्. If the above Vārtika were Kātyāyana's, Pañjali would have paraphrased it in his usual way as : स्तम्बशकृतोरिन्वत व्रिहि वत्सयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ।

The Benares edition of the Mahābhāṣya contains exactly this comment. Some old manuscripts[16] consulted by me support Kielhorn's reading and the reading given by the Benares edition does not seem to be a correct one.

3. 2. 29. A note has been added above on this Sūtra and on the Vārtika and Bhāṣya on it.

3. 2. 48. In Patañjali's language, the root '*gam*' takes the affix '*ḍa*' when in composition with words other than those given by Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.

Patñjali अपर आह। डप्रकरणेऽन्येष्वपि दृश्यते। अन्येष्वपि डो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ।

(To be Continued.)

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16. Adyar Library Ms. 8. 1. 22. Vol. 3, p. 45, etc.

THE ENGLISHMEN'S RESETTLEMENT AT RAJAPORE AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH ŚIVĀJI

BY B. G. TAMASKAR

I. *Introduction*

THE first contact of S'ivāji's men with the English occurred (early in 1660) when the former went so far as Rajapore and demanded the latter to deliver to them the Juncks of Fazal Khan, son of Afzal Khan. It was on this occasion that an English broker and one factor, Mr. Gyfford were taken prisoners. The broker was let off after several attempts and protests, but the English factor was kept a prisoner at Kharepatan till he was released by force by way-laying the transferring party when he was being taken to Suttolly or Khelna. This affair ended thus.

The second occasion of a similar but more serious contact was one of the creation of the Englishmen themselves. The English helped Siddi Johar not only with guns but gunners against S'ivāji who was besieged in the Panhala fort. So, S'ivāji was right in punishing them in the way he did by looting their Rajapore factory and taking Henry Revington and his companions prisoners. These men remained prisoners for a long time and, therefore, became impatient for their release and wrote to the Surat Council in abusive language. The Surat Council thereupon wrote to them:

They had to court imprisonment "not for defending companies goods, 'twas for going to the siege of Panhalla and tossing balls with a flagg that was known to be the Englishes"[1].

To secure the freedom of the English prisoners from S'ivāji's prison, the English tried all means available.

Then followed prolonged negotiations for the reparation of the Rajapore losses lasting for nearly fourteen years (1610-1674). The history of these negotiations falls outside the scope of the present paper. However, it may be noted that during these negotiations each party's policy underwent various phases and affected negotiations in various ways.

1, Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 85. p. 294.

The long negotiated treaty was signed by Śivāji and his ministers on the 11th of June 1674 and was delivered to the East India Company's Officers at Bombay on the 16th of June[2]. The main stipulations of the peace may be succinctly mentioned as follows:—

(1) The mutual restitution of ships and cargoes driven ashore by storms.

(2) The security and protection of the English people and their factories situated in theatres of war and compensation to full satisfaction for any loss sustained by them for arson or plunder resorted to by S'ivāji's soldiers

(3) The provision for a suitable house for the English factory at Rajapore.

(4) The payment of custom for goods imported or exported by the English once at the rate of two and a half per cent.

(5) The freedom of trade for the English, including the right to purchase whatever commodities they needed or to sell to whomsoever they pleased.

(6) The right of detention of persons indebted to the Company in English factories.

(7) The liberty to repair the damaged English factory at Rajapore and build up extentions thereto and the expenses for these to be defrayed out of the customs.

(8) The expatriation of the run-away servants in the employ of the English seeking shelter and protection in S'ivāji's territory.

II. *Resettlements of the English Factory at Rajapur.*

Soon after the treaty was signed, the English people of Bombay began, suggesting to the Surat Council, that "the sooner we begin, the sooner we shall recover the company's debts, and the money due from Sevagee, and also those ports, will the sooner be rendered commodious to the company's trade.[3]" And on the 31st of July 1674, the Bombay Council, wishing to take advantage of the availibility of beetle-nuts and coconuts, held consultations and ordered their brothers at Rajapore to demand and receive in the company's name the payment of the first part of the goods

2. English Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 88, pp. 147-55.
3. Orme, mss. Vol. 114, Section 3, page 153, Dated 20th July 1674.

to be purchased of S'ivāji in accordance with the treaty[4]. Very soon, however, the Surat Council had to make the following complaint :—

" We only may signifie to you that haveing perused Sevajee Rajahs orders to his Subedar of Rajapore concerning his Articles and the conditions made with him for trade in that his Port, we find them more recluse then we had though (t) and much short of the privilledge we enjoy in other parts, more especially in the Kingdom of Deccan.......

To be denyed the carrying our goods up into the country for sale, our confined to sell them in port, is what we never expected, for 'twill be a great prejudice to our trade in Deccan, and the carrying out our goods againe that will not sell there, having first paid the custome, is nothing of Priviledge, for in other ports where we have trade, we may carry them out without paying any custome." [5]

To the above the Bombay Council replied :—

" The observation you have made touching the clause in our Agreement with Sevagee, wherein he expects we should sell our goods in port, and denies us the privilege of carrying them up the countries for sale, is the same which we also took notice of, but we did not esteem it the Company's interest to desire or break of (sic ? off) the conclusion of peace with him on that score, (complaint made in the foregoing letter) for we do not doubt, when the Factory of Rajapore is well settled, to procure that and other good priviledges from him, he seeming to comply with us in all our reasonable and just demands touching trade."

" Mr. John Child who is appointed Chief for the settlement of the factory of Rajapore being at present detained here on some weighty affairs, we have thought good to send you Mr. Charles Ward and Mr. George Robinson to the said port of Rajapore, with a stock in treasure, and some goods, that you may the better prepare, and get things in readiness against Mr. Childs arrival and to the end that the fame of the English coming thither may invite

4. F. R. Bombay. Vol. I, Page 72 (2nd set).

5. F. R. Surat, Vol, 87. Page 196-197, dated 1st Sept. 1674.

the merchants from Raybagg, Collapore and other Mart towns in those parts to come down and bring their goods to port."[6]

Mr. George Robinson had been appointed "as third of the Rajapore factory"[7], but on account of the above circumstance he came to be appointed as the second.

Gradually, this factory began to grow important, for whenever there were troubles round about, goods from other factories were brought here "for the better security."[8]

III. *The English trying to get back their old house*

Now, having settled at Rajapore, the English began trying to get back their old house again. "We used our endeavours what wee could to gett our old house againe, which he now lives in, but will not yeald it unless wee send for the Articles between your Honour and Sevagee, and then he will not a (? s) tay one houre there. Amagee Punditt is expected dayly, and hope, he being at the makeing of the Articles, to find some helpe by him for the recovery of it."[9]

Their second attempt also ended fruitlessly.

"Amagee (Annajee) Punditt arrived here some days past, but made his stay very short, his occations calling him to a place called Killnarr (Khelna), some twelve course hence, but doth intend to returne speedily. Wee used our endeavours in the time of his aboade here for the howse, but could worke nothing upon him, he telling us the house was included in the 10,000 pagodas Sevagee gave, nor will he give us ground convenient for the building one on, but a place soe incommodious occasioned by the shallowness of water that our boates cannot come within a quarter of a mile loaden, but must be forced to unlode and to be carryed on coolys, which wee are very sensible will be off great charge to the Honble. Company, considering how dear they are here in this place.

Wee have at present runn up a small habitation by the river side, against it pleases God Mr. Child arrives, for whom wee heartyly wish."[10]

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6. Orme mss. Vol. 114, Sect. 3, pp. 186-188.
7. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 1. pp. 93-94.
8. Orme mss. Vol. 114, Sect. 3. p. 197 dated the 22nd Sept. 1674.
9. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 221 dated 24th Oct. 1674.
10. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 253, dated 30 November 1674.

On the eve of the departure of Mr. John Child to Rajapore, the Bombay Council gave two important instructions, the first regarding insistence on the compliance with the terms of treaty by S'ivāji and his officers about losses suffered by the English on the occasion of the last loot; and the second concerned the getting back of the old house. They say, "Wee hope on your arrival, by vertue of the Bendents letter to Amagee Panditt and Subedar that you will doo much therein and either procure the same house, or another stone or brick house convenient, till you can build one for yourselves in such a place and in such a manner as shall be consistent with the security of our Hon'ble Masters Interest."[11]

John Child, after his arrival at Rajapore, renewed his attempt. "Annagee sent this message, that he would afford us the best accomodation in towne, but if proved not to content chuse what place wee pleased, in three months he would take care a house acccording to our desires and liking should be built; this proffer wee thought good to accept for the following reasons, first, in respect to your orders to John Child on their business wherein you write the President's letter to Annagee and the Subedar would otherwise produce our old house or some other stone or brick house; next, in respect the distance between the house and the ship (was) about 25 miles, soo that it was alwaies 24, nay 30 howers before could receive any answer, and the Monzoon being far spent, a day was of vallue in respect to your orders concerning getting a freight for the Maytree. Next, in respecs what happened upon Mr. Ward being earnest for our ould house, Annagee tould him that he should not have it, and that he did not care whither wee staid by itt, here or noe, if wee did not, his Master would save 10.000 pagods by itt, and further will have it that the house was allowed for in that summe graunted us by his Master towards satisfaction for our losses. This aversennesse of his was one maine resason, for he is not only one of Sevajees great favourites but Governour in cheif of all Cunconu, soe that wee cannot settle in any place but it's under his jurisdiction, and such is his power that noe Governor can doe anything without his leave, wherfore wee hold it prudence not in the least to disoblige

11. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 7, pp. 66-67, dated 26 January 1675.

him, out by all meanes endeavour to make him our friend; and lastly, in respect its reported for a certaine that Sevagee himself will be here within (5) or 20 dayes. By that time wee may receive your answer to this, when, if you thinke fitt wee demanaund in wee may better from him hope to procure our ould house. Your order therefore concerning this particular wee humbly desire, and that you may be fully informed in this matter, wee beg leave to advise your Honour that the house Mr. Revington built is small, occasioned by reason of another adjoyning to it, which then was in the English's possession, for which was paid monthly 100 Larrees. In this latter the Subedar lives, which Annajee possitively denyes us as not our owne. The other is made a place where publique greivances are heard and all their regeltrys (sic ? Registers) kept. This, he sent me word on board by the Broker; should bee delivered if wee were resolved to have it; but indeed alone it will not serve our turnes and wee cannot enlarge it, being noe roome, but that would not be wanting, for had wee possession of this, wee are apt to believe the other would soon fall to us; but then wee shall highly disobleige the Hindues and Mores, for the latter have their church close adjoyning to itt and all persons in the towne of any quality of the former live close round about it who will be forced to remove if wee come there. Now all things being duly considered, wee are much inclined to accept of Annajees proffer, and if wee can find a fitt and convenient place to build, but then wee shall stand much on being paid rady money for our ould house as cost, which, if my memory failes not, is about 800 pagodas, and doe believe shall effect it or that what house is built for us shall be at Sevajees charge, which wee are the rather of the two desirous of, because wee shall not be able to build a covenient house for lesse then 10,000 Rupees, for that the French have built here cost about Rupees 15,000 and yet not fully finished. Now although wee cannot expect that Annagee will performe this promise in building of a convenient house in three monthes yett he will be able by his power, if willing to effect it in a short time, and wee doe thinke it the least evil to make the best shift we can for present, then by striving for our ould house create abundance of enimies and last

possibly never have it; which will be the greatest evill of all, for Sevagee himselfe is a Hindue; therfore, if wee can have our desire complyed with wee shall accept of Annagees proffer, and if it happens before your answer to these arrives to our handes will hope to renew your leaves, and it suites not with your Honours judgement humbly beg your pardon and a favorable construction of us. That to the best of our understanding in this wee acted to the honour of our nation and our master's interest."[12]

It seems from a reference in the above that the first portion that had been written on the 3rd February[13]. On the 5th, they saw Annagee Pandit and had a long talk with him on various subjects.

"The first of businesse was concerning our house; it expresseth that the Englishes Becaurr (Vakher) should be deliverd them, and for that it may be ould and broken, what is shall want wee are to disourse the money and it to be deducted out of the customes. The meaning of this word Becaurr your Honour well understands, although they will have it out for only the house wee built, yet it certainly means the other house wee hired likewise, and accordingly made demand, shewing Annajee the Articles, which he could not deny, but said that after it was signed they had discourse with Naransenwy about this particular, and because they could not well deliver it, he demaunded 800 pagodas, but at length with him agreed that it should be included in the sume of 1,00,000 pagods. This wee told him did not at all concern us, and that wee did believe Narransenwy never had order to make any such agreement, but in fine he tould us that he would not let us have our old accomodation but named to us four places, which were shewed us, all to (o) far from the water side; but one of them hath only that inconvenicnce, otherwise very fitt and convenient in all respects and is not from the water side above a bowes shott. And further, if wee like neither of these bid us chuse what place wee would, above is (his) owne house in the towne wee should have it, and in two monthes he would obleige himselfe to build us a house to our liking. Upon this wee desired to know who should be at the charge.

12. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 15-20 dated 6 Februrary 1675.
13. "Wee had thus farr wrote the 3rd instant......".

He answered that "it should be according to the Articles which he would faine have perswaded us to beleive that what therein writ runne soe that wee disbursting the money it should be allowed us out of the customes. But our opinion was contrary, for the Articles about our house says thus, that if the English Becaurr wants repaire. what charge they should be at thereon should be allowed them out of the customes. This wee disputed him at least an hower; at last he tooke John Child by the hand and gave it into the Subedars, declaring that what charge wee should be at in building should be deducted out of the customes. But with this wee could not rest satisfied; we therefore, to end all further discourses on the subject, said that what Annajee spoke was true, but wee desired for our satisfaction that he would give this under his hand, that should any dispute this hereafter it might be more plainly appear. Soe after a little pause he promised to comply with our desire, and in the morning would send us under his hand that whatever place wee should chuse to build on above his house wee should have, and that in two monthes after our speaking to the Subedar, & ca. It should be finished and the charge to be deducted out of the customes. Thus far in this have wee done, not let goe out ould dwelling, procured this paper from Annajee, whose copie is inclosed, and yett not at all oblige (d) ourselves to build, but waite your orders, which wee humbly beg may be sent us with all convenient speed "[14].

The Subedar of Rajapur was rather violent that the English built their house soon.

"The Subedar is very importunate with us to build a house, promises very faire, but wee cannot as yet be asured to our satisfaction that it shall be allowed for by Sevajee; however, are in great hopes to effect it. Wee have had some dispute with him, the house ordered by Annajee for our accomodation being broke open, it was told us by his order. About this Mr. Ward and Mr. Michell was sent with a messagee to him; he pleaded ignorance, hath put the man in prison that made use of his name, and hath promised to meet John Child at our owne house and will in all thinges comply with our desires "[15].

(*To be concluded*)

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14. *Ibid.* 15. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, pp. 21-22, dated 17 Feb. 1674-5.

SOURCES OF INDIAN ART

By P. Sama Rao, b.a., b.l.

(Continued from Vol. XXXV. No. 2. Page 92).

In no emotion, as in love, there is such a total wiping out of one's self. God is love, and people who live in love, live with God and finally attain Him. This is the *Bhaktimārga* or the path of devotion that is prescribed for the non-intelligent and the unlettered for the attainment of *mukti* or final realisation. This *bhāva* is superbly expressed in a verse of Mēghadūtḥa, which while suggesting the essential qualities of a *Pativrata*, gives expression to the sinking of one's self into that of one's beloved and thereby forget one's own. To an ideal Nāyiki the external universe consists only of her beloved, just as to a *bhakta* it is pervaded by the dazzling presence of God. Her thoughts, her actions and her memories, always centre in and round him: her very life-breath comes from him. In whatever she thinks, or does, she is always reminded of her beloved. Kaḷidāsa describes this attitude of mind in Mēghadūtḥa as follows :—

> " *Utsangēva malinavasanē sēvyanikṡipya veenām,*
> *Matgōtrānkam virachitapadam bhāvagamyam likhanthi,*
> *Prucchantīva madhuravachānām Sārikam panjarasthām...*"

This has a parallel in Homer when he describes how Penelope could not finish her piece of embroidery because her thoughts, however much she would try, wandered away for ever to her beloved, Odysseus, who was abroad. Keats in his Isabella vents out the same feeling in the second stanza :—

> " With every morn their love grew tenderer,
> With every eve deeper and tenderer still ;
> He might not in house, field or garden stir,
> But her full shape would all his seeing fill ;
> And his continual voice was pleasanter
> To her than noise of trees or hidden rill ;
> Her lute strings gave an echo of his name,
> She spoilt her half-done broidery with the same."

The Yakṣini of Mēghadūtḥa is so much absorbed in her lover and the sweet memories of their past joint life that whatever tune she would play on the Veena, or whatever question she put to her

caged Sārika, the answer, the one answer, and the only answer that was audible to her was her beloved's name and that name only. I have alluded to this state of unconsciousness of one's own self and the consciousness of the beloved, in the Upaniṣad's saying, " For just as one dallies with a beloved wife has no consciousness of outer or inner, so the spirit also, dallying with the self, whose essence is Knowledge, has no consciousness of outer or inner."

The artist must possess this psychology before he could attain perfection. So, eroticism which is the first step in the wiping out of self, if extended to higher knowledge, which regards God as the beloved and the *bhakta* as the Nāyiki, is as much a good mode of approach to divinity as any other mode, like the *Gñānamārga* or the *Vairāgyamārga*. It is in this light that all good erotic poetry in our Sanskrit Literature was conceived and melodiously sung by poets like Jayadēva and Kāḷidāsa. Eroticism is the basis of the Vaiṣṇavaite cult according to which, S'rī Kṛṣṇa, the beloved, is the creator, and Rādha, the Nāyiki, is the incarnation of material creation. As Apūrṇadēvi has beautifully expressed, " Fundamentally, the creator and the creation are one and the same; but for the fuller manifestation of the creator-in creation, and of creation in respect of the creator, the Universe abounds with the rich glory of infinite life complexes. According to them (Vaiṣṇavaites) the cardinal principle which rules the Universe is love; and it is the fundamental pre-requisite of *Kīrtan* (song) to feel and imbibe the beauteous mixture of emotional experiences that the great *leela* of the divine pair reflect in the ordinary life complexes of human beings in society."

In the language of an Upaniṣad again, the artist, be he a singer, poet, painter or a sculptor-separates, " the spirit, the inner soul from his body, as from a painter's brush a fibre " and dedicates his purified soul to the service of God to attain Him.

Agni Purāṇa, Śukrācārya's Śilpa-S'āstrās, Brihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, Vālimiki Rāmāyaṇa, Stapatya Vēda, Kathōpaniṣad, Brihad-Saṁhita of Varāha, Atharva Vēda, Mahā Nirvāna Tantra etc.

S'ukrācārya enjoins on the craftsman the method of mental vision set out in the Agni Purāṇa, as follows :—

"Let the imager (*Prathimakāraka*) establish images in temples by meditation on the deities who are the objects of devotion"
For the successful achievement of the lineaments of the deity to be portrayed, *Dhyānamantrās* such as the ones alluded to already, were meditated upon. The general prayer as set down by the Kathōpaniṣad and the Brihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad when translated read thus ;—" O Thou, lord of all gods, teach me in dreams how to carry out all the work I have in my mind."

After this soul-purification, the Sādhaka has to proceed to a solitary place, invoke the aid of gods, offer them real or imaginary flowers, and realise in thought the " four infinite moods of friendliness, compassion, sympathy, and impartiality ". He must then contemplate upon the emptiness or non-existence of all things, for, " by the fire of the idea of emptiness it is said these are destroyed beyond recovery of the five elements " which constitute individual consciousness. The attainment of this spiritual freedom is also voiced by Goethe ; " He who attains to the vision of beauty, is from himself set free." Laurence Binyon explains the reason, " We too should make ourselves empty that the great soul of the Universe may fill us with its breath ".

After creating a vacuum in himself the Sādhaka must invoke the desired divinity by the utterance of appropriate *Bīja-mantra* or *Dhyāna*, (meditation) (losing himself entirely). Thereafter, the *Dhyānamantram* relating to the deity to be portryed or sculptured, has to be uttered, when the divinity forms himself or herself clearly on the canvas of the Sādhaka's mind, " like a reflection ", which he could copy in creation.

This ritual shows in its essentials the psychological process of imagination, which Jung in his " Psychology of the Unconscious " has called concentration. This concentration is, " the willed introversion of a creative mind, which retreating before its own problem and inwardly collecting its forces dips at least for a moment into the source of life, in order there to wrest a little more strength from the mother, for the completion of the work." and the result of this reunion is " a fountain of youth and new fertility ".

Our literature is full of parallels for the conception of visual art as yōga. *Vide* Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, and the invocations of

Vyāsa and Vāsavadatta. Chuang Tsu says that the artist's mind attains that yogic unconcern before his subject manifests itself clearly to him; for "the mind of the sages, being in repose becomes the mirror of the Universe, the speclum of all creation."

That God is the actual theme of all art is suggested by S'aṅkaracārya in his commentary on Brahma Sūtra [I, (i), 20-21.], when he points out that "the Brahman is the real theme of secular as well as spiritual songs." and celebrates His Beauty in the form of Pārvathi in his ecstatic "Soundaryalahari." I have already alluded to the the identification of the artist's self with his subject in the light of the lines, *Dēvo bhūtvādēvam yājēt.*" which mean "to worship a god, become a god".

The *S'ilpa S'āstras* are contained, it is said, in the Sthāpatya Vēda. The Śāstras describe a *śilpan* or the sculptor; "The *śilpan* should understand the Atharva Vēda, the Thirty-two S'ilpa śāstras, and the Vēdic mantras by which the deities are invoked. The *śilpan* should be one who wears a sacred thread, a necklace of sacred beads, and a ring of Kus'a grass upon his finger; delighting in the worship of God, faithful to his wife, avoiding strange women, piously acquiring a knowledge of various sciences, such a one is indeed a *śilpan.*"

What applies to this kind of artist applies with the same force to the others, the painter, singer, and poet. The painter is further enjoined to be, "a good man, not sluggard, not given to anger; holy, learned, self-controlled, devout, and charitable, such should be his character...He may paint if, beside himself, only another Sādhaka be present but not when a man of the world is looking on". The śāstras lay down rules of honesty to the craftsman holding out that an honest and skilful builder will be reborn in noble families, while the ignorant and the dishonest will fall into hell. The casting of hollow images was forbidden, as they would prove disastrous to the craftsman and his family (*vide* Mahā-Nirvāṇa Tantra). In the Brihad-Saṁhita of Varāha Miśra it is laid down that "if the craftsman makes an image with a thin belly there will be famine in the land: or if his hand slips and injures the image, he will receive a hurt in the like manner."

THE VĒDAS, PURĀṆĀS, ETC.

No Indian artist can dispense with a knowledge of the Vēdas and the Purāṇās because his conceptions of the Hindu deities cannot be complete without it. The various deities are described as follows :—

Indra—He is the god called the Thunderer who brought in rain to enliven crops. He is the god of fertility, and thus a friend of man. He is the artizan of the universe which he shaped with his hammer. He is the slayer of dragons, giants, and all enemies of mankind. He is the god of war. His caste is not determined but his attributes place him among the Kṣtriyās.

In the Vēdic hymns he is described as a burly man with a handsome prominent nose, good lips and comely chin. He is long-necked, big-bellied, strongly armed, resplendently attired and decorated with ornaments, which are his weakness. He is much addicted to the drinking of the "sweet intoxicating Sōma". He is said to quaff thirty bowls of Sōma at a time before he hastens to fight the hostile air-demons for protecting mankind from evil.

His favourite horses are called the 'Bold' and the 'Brown.' They are yoked to his gold chariot by Maruts, his attendants. He is the ruler of *Svarga* or Heavens, the middle region, to which all good persons go after their death. He is a Vēdic god.

He rides his gold chariot with a gold whip in his hand, the thunderbolt in his arm, and a gold helmet on his head. He is said to possess a golden beard which shakes violently as he rides fast and hurls his bolts at the enemies of mankind.

His palace was constructed by God, the great architect. Like a chariot it is moveable. The assembly house has many rooms and seats, and is adorned by celestial trees, like the *Kalpa-Vrikṣa* and the *Pāri-jātha*. Indra sits there with his beautiful queen S'achīdēvi, wearing his crown, and with gleaming

bracelets on his upper arms; he is decked with flowers and attired in white garments. He is waited upon by the brilliant Maruts, and all the gods and ṛṣis and saints whose sins having been washed off their souls are as resplendent as fire. There is no sorrow or fear or suffering in Indra's abode which is inhabited by the spirits of wind, and thunder, fire and water, plants and clouds, the planets and stars; and the spirits also of prosperity, religion, joy, faith, and intelligence. Fairies (*Apsarasās*) and elves (*Gandharvās*) dance and sing there the sweet music: feats of skill are performed by celestial heroes in *Dhanurvidya*, art of archery, etc. Auspicious rites are always practised there. Divine messengers come and go in celestial chariots, looking bright as Sōma himself.

The Maruts—They are the sons of Red Rudra; are the spirits of tempest and thunder. To each of their chariots are yoked two spotted deer and one swift footed, never-to-be-wearied red deer, as their leader. They are stalwart courageous youths "full of terrible designs like to giants." They wear gold helmets, gold breast-plates, and bright skins on their shoulders. Their ankles and arms are decked with gold bracelets. They are armed with bows, arrows and axes, and especially with shining spears. They are called the 'Cloud-Shakers,' when they hasten forth with their lightning spears and drench the earth with life-quickening showers.

They accompany Indra in his attack of the drought-demon Vritra. They rescue the "Cloud-cows" which he has imprisoned, and let them loose on the earth in the form of rain. This fight with Vritra is beautfully discribed in the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata.

In another description, these Maruts are represented as driving in chariots yoked with tawny horses or dappled deer with spears resting upon their shoulders, anklets on their feet and with gold ornaments on their breasts and ears, firy lightnings in their hands, and gold helmets on

their heads. Sometimes they drive along with golden mantles waving, sometimes cloaked in rain. They are sometimes cloaked in the woolly cloud as they split open the rocks with might. Their chariots are laden with lightning, now and then with buckets and barrels of water which they pour down as they go loudly singing. Their very sweat is said to be rain, and pleasant to the ear is the crack of their whips, the whistle and whizz of the wind that ushers in storm. They are boisterous and noisy.

Ribhus—They are the artizans of the gods and live in the *antarikṣa* or the mid-air. Their number is given variously as three or multiples of three. They are the sons of Sudhanvan, who is identified with Indra, for Indra is a Ribhu when he confers gifts. They are engineers who create grass, herbs, and dig out channels for streams. They are heavenly doctors as well; for they could renovate the aged and decrepit parents. They are architects besides, as they are credited with having shaped the heavens and the earth and fashioned *Kāmadhēnu*, the 'cow of plenty', which acceds to all desires.

They are the grandsons of Tvastri, the Hindu Vulcan, by his daughter Saraṇya. They provide the celestials with horses and chariots just as their grandfather fashioned for them the wonderful bowl which filled itself with Sōma. The Ribhus are said to have transformed the bowl into four cups. As Prof. Macdonell observes, 'This bowl perhaps represents the Moon, four cups being its phases.' One of the Ribhus is a famous archer.

The Ribhus and Tvastri are the artizans of nature, the spirits of growth, the genii of the seasons, the elves of earth and air.

Agni—He is the fire-god and is closely associated with Indra in the sacrfices. He is sometimes called his twin brother. They are the most prominent deities of the Vēdic hymns.

Indra gives 'the air of life' to men while Agni symbolises the vital spark, or the principle of life, in the animate and the inanimate nature. He is present in all

life, in plants, trees, butter, and the intoxicating Sōma. In post-Vēdic creation, Agni is identified with the Universal Soul; for Brahman is said to have existed in the form of Agni before the worlds, gods, and men came to be. He manifested himself as lightning in the heavens, as fire on earth, and the Sun in the sky. He is the divine priest, in contrast with Indra, the divine warrior.

He is represented as sharp-faced, bright, brilliant and shining. He is gold-toothed and could see "even over the darkness of night". He makes all things visible. He has two horns which he sharpens to pierce the rākṣasās.

He is the messenger of gods like Mercury. He conducts them to the sacrificial altar when mankind desire with due oblations. Like Indra he is also a heavy consumer of Sōma, and a benefactor to humanity.

"Fed by wood, with blazing tawny mane, he sends up his smoke like a pillar to the sky, or like a waving banner. Though headless and footless, he rushes through the woods like a bull lording over a herd of cows, roaring like a lion or like mighty waters. He envelopes the woods, consumes and blackens them, with his tongue; with his burning iron-grinders, his sharp all devouring jaws, he shears the hairs of the earth, like a barber shaving a beard. When he has yoked his wind-driven coursers to his car, the beautiful, fleet, ruddy steeds that can assume all shapes, he bellows like a bull and invades the forests; the birds are terrified at the noise when his grass-like devouring sparks fly around and his wheels mark his path with blackness. He is a destroyer of darkness and sees through the gloom of the night. The world which had been swallowed up and wrapped in darkness, and heavens are manifested at his appearance; and the gods, the sky, the earth, the waters, the plants, rejoice in his friendship".—J. Muir.

Without his propitiation the other gods are unapproachable; for he is called "Brother Agni". He is Agni Vaiśvānara that is, Agni who belongs to all men.

Agni is Sūrya in the morning, and Sūrya is Agni in the night. Agni has more than one abode; sometimes two, and then again more truly, three: on Earth as fire, in the heavens as the Sun, in the atmosphere as lightning. He is 'son of the waters'; it is the mystic and appropriate name of Agni, the lightning, who after lying long hidden in the celestial cloud ocean, flashes forth from it, in very truth, water-born. "His road is the flood that pours through the arid space; he reaches earth in the clear waters; he devours what is old wood and penetrates into new plants." And again, "when he is brought down from the highest father, Dyāus or heavens, he climbs into the sapful plants......to be again, ever most young".

"Agni is red in colour; he has two heads, six eyes, seven tongues, four horns, and three legs. He sits on a lotus. He holds *Prōkṣaṇi*, *Srīk*, *Sruva*, *Parnapātra*, *Tumra*, *Vyāgini*, and *Ghritapātra* in his hands, he wears sacred thread and puts on red costume. He rides on a ram and has a ram as his insignia. He is represented as fat-bellied. Svāhā and Svadhā are his two wives on either side of him." This is another aspect of Agni.

As per Viṣṇu-Dharmōttara, "an image of Agni that is to be placed in a temple should have its colour red, and his hair matted. His dress must have the colour of smoke and his body surrounded by flames. He should have three eyes and a beard. His hands are four; he has four teeth or tusks representing *Vāgdanda*, *Dhanadanda*, *Dhigdanda*, and *Vadhādanda*. His chariot which bears the insignia of smoke is drawn by four *Śukās* (parrots), Vāyu being his charioteer. Agni has on his left thigh Svāhā seated exactly like Indra's S'achi. She holds a pot of ghee in her hands. Agni has flame and trident in his right hands and rosary or *japamāla* in the left. His colour is red."

The Visvakarma Śilpa (Chap 7) represents Agni thus; "Agni has a flag in his hand. He shines with energy. His eyes are copper-coloured. His colour is that of smoke. He is surrounded by flames and is full of

brightness and lustre. He stands on a *kunda*, and is surrounded by *Yōgapatta*. Svāhā is on his right side. He wears an ear ornament of gem. He is beneficient in all sacrifices, is holy, and is decorated with ornaments of grey colour." Accoding to Hemādri, Agni has one face, three eyes, and four hands. In all other respects his *dhyāna* tallies with the one given in Viṣṇu-Dharmōttara, except that his wife is Sāvitrī instead of Svāhā.

Śaṅkarācārya in his Prapanchasāra Tantra gives a *dhyāna* of Agni as,

"*Trinayana marunaptarūdāmowlim susuklam*
Sukamarunamanēkakalpamambhōja samstam
Abhimatavarasuklisvastikā bhōtihastam
Namatakanakamālālamhkitam samkrnsannam."

According to Mahābhārata, Agni has seven faces, red throat, grey eyes and bright hair.

Why is a ram or goat connected with Agni? Upaniṣad has it, that Puruṣa divided himself into a male and a female: He created all beings; *aja* or goat or ram, first came out of his mouth; Agni is also his first creation; so they are associated as the first born. This explanation is to be found in the Puruṣasūkta.

Uṡās or Dawn—She with her 'darkness-consuming fire' and starry night (*rātri*) are the sisters of Agni. They celebrate his three births, one in the sea, one in the sky, and one in the waters (clouds). In the most comprehensive lines of Mr. J. Muir, she is "like a young woman dressed by her mother, a richly decked dancing girl, a gaily attired wife, appearing before her husband, or a female resplendent out of the birth-smiling and confiding in the irresistable power of her attractions, she unveils her bosom to the gaze of the beholder." She is the dispeller of enemies-powers of darkeness, thieves, and other male-factors who are sheltered by darkness, of bad dreams, phantoms, spells, and all the evil brood of darkness. She is therefore most appropriately likened to a warrior brandishing weapons. She is the opener of a path for Sūrya, and a manifestation of Aditi.

Rātri or Night—She is Dawn's sister. "The ruddy bright one

with her bright colt arrives; to her the Dark One has relinquished her abode. The same is the never ending path of the two sisters, which they travel by God's command. They strive not, they rest not, the majestic Night and Dawn; always of one mind, though unlike."

Both sisters are great weavers. They purpetually weave mantles and veils-golden shining or black, "each after her manner; and one undoes the weaving of the other. Uśās shows herself beaming at the borders of the sky, having thrown off the dark coverings, as she drives on her bright chariot drawn by the self-yoked ruddy steeds. "Sūrya her lover, rolls it up like a hide, unweaves, and ravels it up, and hides it away. Yet even this work, the sisters perform amicably. Jointly they weave the outspread curtain. They carry between them all that exists revolving as on one wheel"

Uśās' relations with Sūrya are as naturally but more variously described. She shines with the light of her lover, Sūrya, who "follows her as a lover follows a maiden". But she flies before him and he can never join her. It were disastrous for her if he did, for the delicate Dawn never could stand the full blaze of her lover's splendour. But sometimes she is Sūrya's sister, both being children of Dyāus (Sky), and sometimes his mother, in the form of a cow.

Vāyu—Indian *Vāta* is often invoked as Vāyu in the Vedic hymns, which refer to his "two red horses yoked to the chariot." Like the Maruts, he has also a team of deer. Here I cannot refrain from quoting the Vedic poeṭ's apostrophee to this god, which is so lovely; "Awake, Purandhu (morning) as a lover awakes a sleeping maid,...Reveal Heaven and Earth.........Brighten the Dawn, yea, for glory, brighten the Dawn..........." which has parallel in Keat's Ode to a Nightingale; "There is no light Save from what heaven is with the breezes blown." Vāyu is thus a gentle god—not the stormwind, having a modest place in the Vēdas. Hēvajrutara prescribes green colour to this deity.

(*To be continued*).

SUPERSTITION AMONG MURDERERS

BY S. TIRUVENKATACHARI, M.A., L.T.

1. BEASTS AND BIRDS

THE Thugs were specialists in homicide. They were perfect masters in their art. They believed, their art too, like all other arts, originated from God. When they committed a murder they did not ever imagine they were perpetrating a shameful and heinous offence; they thought they were carrying out an injunction of their Goddess. Mr. Sleeman whose services to the country no one can over-estimate, says from personal knowledge: "There is not among them one who doubts the divine origin of the system of Thuggee, not one who doubts that he and all who have followed the trade of murder with the prescribed rites and observance were acting under the immediate orders and auspices of the goddess Dēvī, Durga, Kāḷī or Bhavānī as she is indifferently called and consequently there is not one who feels the slightest remorse for the murders which he may in the course of his vocation have perpetrated or assisted in perpetrating. A Thug considers the persons murdered precisely in the light of victims offered up to the goddess and he remembers them as a priest of Jupiter remembered the oxen and a priest of Saturn the children sacrificed upon the altars. He mediates his murders without any misgiving; he perpetrates them without any feelings of remorse. They trouble not his dreams, nor does their recollection ever cause him inquietude in darkness, in solitude or in the hour of death."

Mr. Sleeman whom we have profusely quoted above has made a study of the inglorious institution of Thuggee and it might be noted here that among those who did their best for rooting out this menace, Mr. Sleeman stands foremost. Among the valuable works on the Thugs the *Ramaseeana* is the most interesting. It is a dictionary of Thug slang compiled in a systematic manner and containing all information regarding Thuggee. Apart from its value as a reference work, it throws, though indirectly, much light on the life and activities of a secret race of a sinners, which once lived on this earth, but which fortunately has disappeared as if struck by a blight. This paper and the papers that follow are based

exclusively on the *Ramaseeana*, and my only apology, if apologies were needed, for publishing these is that they give information, which even students of history are not likely to be in possession of.

For a study of the strange beliefs of the Thugs, one must be familiar with two words, *Pilhaoo* and *Thibaoo*. *Pilhaoo* is the interpretation given to a particular omen which originated from the left side. *Thibaoo* is that given to an omen orginating from the right side. Omens are of different kinds—sounds of animals, appearances of animals and actions and postures of animals. The Thugs refrained from doing anything during inauspicious times. The time was auspicious or inauspicious according to the omen that they encountered. The Thugs believed that an unseen power, perhaps a goddess was leading them and the *Pilhaoo* and the *Thibaoo* might be assumed to be the left arm and the right arm of that power respectively. According to Thuggee, this power just took the gang by the left arm. When the gang saw any omen on the left they felt certain that their goddess had held out her helping hand. But it was the left hand that she held out first. Unless the right was also held out she was not giving them her lead but had withdrawn her favours. The indication that she had held out her right hand came when the *Thibaoo* appeared that is, the omen on the right. So a gang of Thugs began work only when both the *Pilhaoo* and *Thibaoo* appeared.

In giving lead to the Thugs their goddess told them when they should start their work. If the goddess felt that a particular time was inauspicious she expressed it by means of bad omens on the left side as well as on the right side. If she approved of the time chosen by the gang for commencing its activities she expressed it by means of good omens both on the right side and the left side. Though the Thugs were scattered almost throughout India they had almost the same observances and rules regarding these omens. But however certain minor differences could be noted between the Thugs of one part of the country and another.

It was the firm belief of the Thugs that so long as they attended religiously to their rules they would be protected by their goddess. The Muslim section of the Thuggee organisation too believed in a wonder-working goddess whom they called Bhavānī

and Dēvi. A Muslim Thug once said, in answer to a question put to him after his arrest that he thought Bhavānī and Fatima, the daughter of Muhammad and the wife of Ali to be one and the same person and it was Fatima who invented the use of the *roomal* to strangle the great demon Rukut-beij-dana.

So great was their reverence to their goddess that they would do anything—even sacrifice their lives if it came to that—to please Her. As they believed that it was the goddess that guided them, they acted according to the omens they saw in course of their work. Let us first consider how they reacted to omens caused by the appearances and sounds of beasts and birds.

We could begin with the common domestic animals. The lizard, though a small creature, they looked upon as great messenger of their goddess. If it made a sound they considered it a good omen, whatever be the direction, the time and the place at which it made the sound. But if a lizard fell upon a thing it was not reckoned as a happy sign. If it should fall on the dress of a Thug, then it portended evil and to mitigate it the dress must be given away in charity. Of course the lizard plays its part even now and the sound and fall of the lizard have still their significance.

The cat also influenced them to no small extent. If a cat should be seen at their lodgings at night they were sure of good luck. So they looked forward to the appearance of a solitary cat during nights. They attached no importance to the colour of the cat. We do not know if a cat which crossed their path offended them. But they considered themselves on the eve of a great calamity when they heard the noise of fighting cats during day time. The threatened evil could however be averted or at any rate mitigated by a sacrifice propitiating their goddess. The fighting of cats during the first part of the night promised good but later than the first part of the night it meant evil. If the fighting cats should fall from a height while fighting it threatened a great calamity and ceremonies had to be performed to avert it or mitigate its effects.

As for the dog, more often than not, it represented evil. A dog shaking its head they interpreted as a sign of their goddess to

tell them that they should give up the design they had in mind at that time. If they saw a dog dunging on the first day of their campaign they considered it a bad omen. They returned to their place of starting if they should see the unhappy sign after starting, but if they had not started, they postponed their activities for three days. During this period, evidently, they engaged themselves in ceremonies that were pleasing to their goddess. I have not made a study of these ceremonies but I think these ceremonies did not involve any human sacrifice, though every murder that the Thugs committed they considered a sacrifice to their goddess. If the gang encountered the above omen on the left side after a day's advance they did not halt anywhere even for taking rest. They moved on fast and reached their destination earlier than programmed. They believed that the bad omen they saw indicated danger lurking behind and they could escape it only by swift movement. If in their advance they saw the same thing on the right they came to a halt after proceeding cautiously for sometime as they thought that danger lay ahead of them. Again they suspended all operations at least for three days and made sacrifices.

It is strange that they should have attached such serious importance to a common thing—viz. an animal answering harmlessly the call of nature. Once at least the dunging dog did them good : that was in the evening time. If the gang should be lucky enough to witness it, then sure as anything it would get a large booty within a short period of seven days.

We do not know why they attached significance to this particular activity of the dog alone. They did not attach any significance to the barking of dogs or to the fight between two dogs.

The ass was perhaps their most favourite animal. Their goddess sent most of her messages only through this quadruped. A familiar proverb among the Thugs was, " An ass is worth a hundred birds ". The meaning of this proverb is that an ass could bring as much good luck as a hundred birds could bring. Of all the activities of this animal, its braying was the most significant. To hear an ass bray on the left hand side at the time of starting for a decoying expedition was the greatest desire of every Thug. Much good followed if the braying on the left was repeated on the right also.

At the time of starting, an ass must be heard to bray from the left. After reaching a stage of the journey, it must be heard from the right. Even the ass could offend the Thugs if it wanted. For the Thugs thought that their heads would be smashed to pieces if one approached them braying from the front. Such an ass they called the 'head breaker' or in their language, the *Methaphore*.

As for the good that the braying of the ass signified, even now that is the belief among the superstitious people.

Now let us turn to animals that are not commonly found in the home. The deer was among the most important of the forest animals that the Thugs considered messengers of their goddess. For purposes of omens the Thugs classified the deer they usually encountered on their way into two varieties, *viz.* the small deer and the large one. If the small deer should cross their path singly from the right to the left, it was not a happy sign. So they always avoided a single small deer. They believed that a herd of deer always promised good booty. A single small deer signified to them that the gang would soon be shattered and each member of the gang would have to suffer a sorry fate separately. A herd of deer signified that the gang would soon be strengthened by the arrival of fresh groups of Thugs from various parts of the country. As the Thuggee organisation was something like a modern gangster organisation, the small deer omen was something they could not easily ignore. They had realised the significance of the proverb, "united we stand; divided we fall."

The small deer, however, brought good luck if it crossed their path from the left to the right, even if single.

The same might be said of the large male antelope. This superstition might have prevented them from destroying these harmless animals as their own prosperity was associated with the size of the herd.

Among the animals they dreaded the hare was the most important. Of all the activities of the hare they dreaded its call on their right-hand side which meant that they would soon perish in the jungles. While hearing the call, if they had travellers whom they had caught in the campaigns, they must release them without doing any harm. If they should kill the travellers they would find

only a weapon for their own ruin. The hare-omen meant elaborate ceremonies to the Thugs. If these ceremonies were not performed earnestly, then, very soon, the hare or some other animal would drink water out of their skulls. The moving hare did not bring so much harm as the crying one; even then, a hare was a hare for all that. The hare, thus very rarely brought good to the Thugs. If the hare, however, cried from the left at night the omen was considered good but such an omen probably did not occur so frequently.

As for the jackal, the Thugs classified its call into three kinds, *viz.* the long call of a particular jackal; the lamentation of a group and a sudden and short call. Any one of these, heard during the day threatened evil. The gang had to leave the place in which they heard the call. They had also to release the travellers they had caught. But the Dekhan Thugs considered the clamorous call of many jackals exceedingly auspicious. Generally the cry of a group of jackals was considered good during nights if heard from the left. The noise of jackals fighting was a very bad omen involving immediate departure from the locality. As for the movement of jackals, their crossing from right to left brought gold while the opposite movement brought evils. There were certain proverbs current among the Thugs regarding the jackal-omen. Two of these are: 'A jackal crossing from right to left brings gold'; 'if the partridge calls at night or the jackal during the day, quit that country or you will be seized'.

The wolf was also among their bad messengers. While to the Hindnstan Thugs the wolf sometimes indicated good, to the Dekhan Thugs it never brought good. If the wolf 'wept' during the day, the gang immediately left the place. Even during nights its weeping was a bad sign, but serious disasters would befall the gang only if the wolf was heard during day-time.

The Thugs dreaded the poisonous snake as its presence near their lodgings more often meant an expensive sacrifice. If they saw a snake crossing the road, before or behind they should halt and kill the snake. If the snake was killed then the danger which its appearance threatened was also gone; but should it escape unhurt, they should perform a sacrifice.

The Thugs did not desire to see a flying kite, but they sometimes wanted to see the dung of the kite falling, as the sight meant very valuable booty in silver and cloth. But should the kite cry while flying, then woe unto them!

The crow in its natural posture, that is, perched on a tree, was an auspicious sign, and greater luck would befall the gang if the tree on which it was perched overlooked a water-area like a lake, a tank or a river. Such a sight promised good results immediately, in the shape of valuable booty. But if a crow was seen cawing from the back of a living buffalo or a pig or the skeleton of an animal it was a nasty omen. Evidently the buffalo and the pig, themselves being black, by the arrival of the crow became blacker still and to the superstitions Thugs gave gloomy thoughts. For, according to some classes of Thugs a crow sitting on a cow always indicated good. The Thugs seem to have neglected the crows of the ordinary small variety for they always took care to note whenever they saw a crow, if it was a large hill-crow.

The 'Moping owl' was among their most important birds. A low cry of the small owl, repeated three or four times spelt evil. A low gurgling sound by the large owl if heard when they started indicated that danger was awaiting them. So at such times they stopped their journeys till a good omen was sighted. If they heard two big owls shouting then all the travellers they had with them should be let off. The Thugs preserved a story to justify their belief in this omen. An augur among the Thugs by name Gudae once said that he heard the chirping of an owl and that indicated grave calamity. His friends probably slighted it and were not on their guard. Unfotùnately for them their village was attacked by Mr. Halhed that very night and many of them were killed.

(*To be continued*)

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INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Vol. III. February. and Vol. XIV. January.

REVIEWS

Ṛgvedic Culture of the Pre-historic Indus. Vol. II.—by Svami Sankarananda, Published by the Sri Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19-B, Raja Rajkissen Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 10-0-0.

THE Śri Rāmakrishna Vedānta Math has published Ṛgvedic Culture of the Pre-historic Indus valley of which volume one has already been reviewed in these pages. The writer, Svami Sankarananda, has dedicated this work to the Holy Mother, Sri Sharda Devi and the foreword is written by Svami Pratyagatmananda, a great tantric scholar. That the basis of pre-historic Indus Valley civilisation is not necessarily pre or proto Dravidian as propounded, amongst other scholars by the Rev. Father H. Heras, has been considered in the pages of the Journal by Mr. S. Srikantha Sastri (Q.J.M.S. Vol. XXXII and XXXIII No. 1) and as I have said elsewhere, while it is difficult to say this civilisation is Āryan, it may be non-Āryan and it may not be that. It might well depict a state of society which might well be called proto-Āryan. But that would relate clearly to the analytical study of the nature of the society we find described in the earliest of the Vēdas, the Ṛgveda. This new method of analysis has been attempted in this series with considerable success. No Indologist could say with any certainty that he is in possession of the main historical threads of that ancient, vast space-time tangle so as to isolate the Āryan civilisation. For, in the first place, it is not known whence the Āryans came into India and secondly, the assumption that they were not indigenous to the country may not be correct. Whether they came from Mid-Asia or Scandanavia or from the Atlantis or Lemuria or the Pacific or the vast Gondawana continent bordering on the equator in the Indian ocean, it is a subject which requires deep study without any pre-conceived notions. It may be that there is a substratum of truth in both these theories and the original inhabitants themselves possibly were Āryans or a proto-Āryan type who were submerged in the later waves of the Āryan migrations from abroad. As the Svamiji says in his foreword, the discovery of the Indus civilisation has carried the official beginnings of the Indian history at least two millenniums further back and helped us to recognise the affinities and affiliations, both racial and cultural with other equally old civilisations outside the borders of India suggesting a pre-Āryan and pre-Vēdic period for the Indus Valley. Therefore a dispassionate study of the culture as revealed at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and other parts of the Indus valley with the Vēdic civilisation of the *Saptasindhu* may yet establish a legitimate hypothesis that they are not types different in origin but types which are either incidental to the same region like different species of plants or as animals having a common habitat, or else they may have been thrown together in the same region by some historical

accident. The modern adjuncts forged by the anthropologist in his survey have not had sufficient trial for a definite conclusion and scholars like Sir Arthur Keith, Ales Hrdlicka, and others differ as widely as the poles in their conclusions. Again, about the original inhabitants of India itself there has been difference of opinion between the exponents of the North-West and the South West passage theorists. There are also others who think of certain affinity and types comparable to the Black Savage of Australia on the one hand and of the bushy, stub nosed Bantu or Negroid type from South Africa. We cannot say whether or not he was in the direct line from the Neanderthal or some other primitive man of a like pattern, or that he was in an altogether different line from a stock now missing! Then it might follow that the types which we see at Mohenjo-daro, etc. have evolved out of and represent a type altogether anterior to that to which a pre-Greek or pre-Roman correlation cannot possibly be made. While the author has discussed the burial rights of the two cultures in the earlier volume, in the present work he has investigated the data available therein and furnished an inside knowledge to the historian. The Indus Valley and the Vedic civilisations may constitute a cultural or even racial pattern and without any contiguous and concurrent factors indicative of any space-time ideas and it may be that the Āryan culure pattern was a genus or family rather than a species or variety, and that this family had and still has wider ramifications in that special space time continuum which is human history. The prolific growth first and then mytholgy have created legends which have long been recognised and it may be that the Dravidian and Vedic Āryans were originally two patterns which, previous to their contact and cultural assimilation separated from each other by a very big space-time hiatus, *i.e.* unity of pattern with diversity in detail of execution. All these aspects and the Vēdic tantric system are very well discussed in the foreword with the thoroughness and learning which can be expected from Pramathanath Mukherjee, a friend and colleague of Arthur Avalon. The author considers that just below Mohenjo-daro there was an extensive sea in pre-historic times. The Indus at its confluence with the sea had divided and sub-divided itself into branches forming a number of islands comparable to those at the mouth of the Ganges in the Sunderbans. The multiplication of the population, clearance of dense forests and jungles diminished the rainfall, and climatic changes compelled the people to move onwards to the East and South. Thus the Hindus of today are the descendants of that great and glorious people who built the beautiful Indus cities and attained to the summit of culture and civilisation even in those pre-historic times, when all the other peoples of the world were steeped in the darkness of ignorance, many of them roaming about painted in the woods. Naturally, he does not agree with the view of Sir John Marshall that Vēdic litetature was of a later origin than the Indus civilisation.

The Vēdas are considered in chapter one, the tantras in chapters two and three, the doctrine and religion of the Vēda is given in chapter four and the Egyptian Hieroglyphics in chapter five, to show that the names mentioned or referred to in the Indus Valley or in pre-historic times are those of the Āryan Society. Space forbids a detailed discussion of this very intersting topic. We heartily commend this work to all lovers of Indology. S.S.

The Early Muslim Expansion in South India—By Dr. N. Venkataramanayya. Madras University Historical Series. No. 17. Price Rs. 6-8-0.

EARLY Muslim Expansion in South India continues the work done by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar in his South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders. It comprises the history of the invasions of Alā-ud-Dīn, Mubārak, Ghaiyaṣ-ud-Dīn, and Muhammad Bin Tughlaq and their administrative arrangements. The kingdom of the Sēuṇas, the Kākatiyas, the Hoysalas and the Pāṇḍyas, held sway in South India at the close of the fourteenth century and they were struggling for independence. In fact that came with the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. Hence we take it that this work is in many respects a companion to the author's work. 'The origin of the city and Empire of Vijayanagara.' The Hindu as well as the Muslim sources are used in this work. I am glad to find that the cause of the rebellion for freedom were purely cultural rather than philosophical. There was considerable uncertainty amongst the Muslim historians about the name of the Hindu leader and the family to which he belonged. No direct evidence is available in the book to supplement the information given in the works published so far. It seems to be indeed improbable that Harihara was appointed by the Sultan to govern Kampili after having seen his services under Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal and of Bukka in the Nellore district as subordinates of Pratāpa Rudra or that these were Ramanatha's treasurers and entered into maritial alliance with the Royal family. S.S.

Life in The Gupta Age—By Rajaram Narayan Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay, 7.

LIFE in the Gupta Age by Dr. R. N. Saletore many of whose articles have been published in our Journal is a comprehensive survey of the life, manners and customs in the Gupta age. The bibliography is full, the contents give a complete analysis of the subject-matter of the book and the appendices and the index leave nothing to be desired. Nothing is left to choice and every available meterial have been tested. No doubt the author has dealt with many neglected topics as he appropriately mentions in his preface, *e.g.* the date of the frescoes of Ajanta in cave Nos. XVI and XVII.

After describing the political condition and collapse of the S'atavahana empire, the author considers the Vakatakas, the Mauryas and the Guptas in the north and of the Gangas, the Kadambas, and the Pallavas, their social customs and political prominence in the south are considered. The date of the Guptas is given about the first half of the third century after Christ. The author has devoted prominent attention to Harṣa and described the political condition of the country on his death. The chronology of the later Guptas is discussed and traced till the date of their disappearance to about 731 A.D. The common life of the country is detailed in chapter two. An attempt is made to compare the degree to which the injunctions of the law governed by the Dharmaśāstra literature was followed by the people in the Gupta age. To those of us who still follow them it would not come as a surprise that they were adherents of the Varṇāṣrama dharma. Chapter three is devoted to Court Life as laid down in the Smṛtis,—analysed and described with reference to injunctions. In chapter four the administration is traced to its predecessors and described. The author says that it is not correct to say that the Guptas did not follow the Mauryan official terms and gave new designations. They had Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, and their later successors the Scythians and the Kuṣānas have left some vestiges of their system of government in contemporary records. Their system of government, land, labour and co-operative organisations is discussed in chapter five. The concept of land in pre-Gupta times saying that all belonged to the king, land revenue, commerce and coinage and symbolism of the coinage are all considered. Chapter six deals with Fine Arts described with a fullness and thoroughness which is remarkable. Under literature, arts and religion, the Buddhist and the Jaina types are discussed. The work is full of useful information and deserves to be in every well equipped library. S.S.

Chandragupta Maurya and His Times—By Radha Kumud Mookerji (Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1940-41). Published by the University of Madras, Madras. Price Rs. 11-0-0.

THE Subject of the book under review is of entrancing interest and no student of Indian history can be ever unfamiliar with Chandragupta either as a political figure or as an administrator or as a devotee. We do not know whether Chandragupta overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 nor can we say from the inscriptions of Aśōka available at Siddapur, Brahmagiri, Jatinga Rameśvara, Gavimath and Maski and Gooty that Aśōka's rule in the south has declared them or that Aśōka declared that on either part of his country the Cōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satyaputrās and the Keraḷaputrās formed the southern limits. Aśōka informs us in his Rock Edict No. XIII that his own conquest was only that of Kaḷinga. Dr. Mookerji says that

Aśoka did not conquer South India. If that be so, then who did it? Dr. Mookerji seems to derive an implication from the 'unanimous' Jain tradition that Chandragupta in his old age abdicated and followed the Jaina saint Bhadrabahu to Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. I have myself discussed elsewhere (Q. J. M. S. Vol. XX, Pp. 247-248) to what extent this later tradition could be relied upon. I am still unconvinced that Chandragupta referred to is the great Mauryan Emperor or that Bhadrabahu is the great Srutakevali. There is no work at the Jaina Matha at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa relating to it and I would very much like the text of the documents *Bṛhatkathā-Kośa* and *Bhadrabāhu Charitra* and the Kannada works *Munivaṁśābhyudaya* and *Rajāvaḷi Kathe* which he has relied on be published. The work is very fascinating and is complete with information on the various subjects with which it deals. S. S.

Philosophical Essays—By Surendranath Dasgupta. Published by the University of Calcutta. Calcutta.

PHILOSOPHICAL Essays by Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta, Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, published by the Calcutta University, comprises several papers read before international gatherings in India and elsewhere. Dr. Dasgupta is well-known for his learning and for his scholarship and his views are held in the highest esteem. The subjects dealt with are of various kinds and manners of topics which would form the subject-matter of an acrimonious discussion where philosophical scholars meet but no one could easily excel the accomplishments and achievement of this great savant of philosophical learning. It would be an act of superarrogation to take up a subject which he has discussed and exchange views. Regarding the *varna dharma* and the *sadhāraṇa dharma* there is really no conflict and should there be any, preference is to be given to what contributes to the social welfare of the humanity as a whole. While the Hindu ethics raises to a very high eminence by abstracting the activities of the pure personality within itself in some systems and while in certain systems of Buddhist ethics the self-affiliatory processes are given the widest latitude in extending over all living beings, the sobriety and moderation, by which alone pure personality could overcome the obstructions of the biological and the secondary social personality and emphasise the scope of its operation in the realisations of the aims and aspirations of the primary social personality, are largely lacking. The growth of national consciousness must be developed a great deal and present economical and political needs and problems viewed in a proper perspective before they become international. Then the mission of the great teachers will be fulfilled and the kingdom of heaven on earth established. Perhaps, logical abstractions are made from the concrete wholes of experience but the extent to which these abstractions may stand as representative of the concrete wholes

from which they have been taken is always limited. The enquiry after reality is an enquiry which proceeds from the totality of our being, it is not a mere pastime of intellectual exercise and and it is, therefore, necessary that any result that is attained in this course must be such that it must not only be made somehow logically consistent, but should be felt in the experience as a whole in which we are really interested. Justification of all enquiries into the reality is to be based upon a natural craving of the advanced human mind in this enquiry. Yoga is neither vulgar magic nor thaumaturgy but is in essence the concentrated meditation that induces a condition of quiescence. The fully developed faculty or concentration becomes a mythic power transferring the individual into higher planes of existence or spheres of purified matter, *rūpa-dhātu*, or still higher regions of pure spirits, *arūpa-dhātu*, with ethereal bodies. The denizens of these spiritual realms are merged in contemplation of some unique idea, *e.g.* the infinity of space, the infinity of thought or of the void or in a dreamy semi-conscious state. Buddhism is a branch of Yoga and Yoga in the sense of *samādhi* is not to be found in pre-Buddhistic literature. In Buddha's time Yoga meant only control or the effort of control and the different disciplines that constituted it and in later times the Yoga processes were not brought under one systematic concept of Yoga. Early Buddhism never believed in the doctrine of the existence of the self or of its immortality. Judging from the early Pāli texts it seems very probable that *nirvāṇa* was an ethico-religious state of the extinction of desires as a result of ethical practices, contemplation and insight. As such it need not be regarded as transcendental. That *nirvāṇa* in early Buddhism meant immortality of the soul cannot be attested by textual references from Pāli canonical works or from the works of responsible commentators like Buddhagoṣa. Nāgārjuna's main thesis was that all things were relative and hence indefinable in themselves and hence there was no way of discovering their essence, and since their essence was not only indefinable and indescribable but incomprehensible as well, they could not be said to possess any essences of their own. In India, culture is like the nucleus from which everything else has grown. Most of the elements of contemporary European thought are found anticipated in Indian Philosophy. Concept according to Croce is knowledge of relations of things and those things are intuitions ; and concepts would not be possible without intuitions just as intuitions would not be possible without the material of impressions. In Buddhism the datum of intuition has indeed a unique form but this is indeterminate and inexpressible. It assumes an expressible from only when it is conceptualised. The monistic philosophy of the Vedānta forms its backbone and we see that Brahman is regarded as the only true principle of the world. With S'aṅkara Vedānta all *upāsana* means knowledge or intuition. The value of *sādhana* is purificatory and lies in cleansing the mind of its impurities, so

that the mind when once purged of its dross can at once feel its unity with Brahman in one act of intuition. The bed-rock of old Indian culture and civilisation which formed the basis of our philosophy is fast slipping off our feet and it is time that we should try to preserve it. Philosophy is not mere logic or metaphysics, but the entire epitome of life and stands as the collective and integrated whole of all that we think, all that we feel and all that we prize as high and great. The book is highly technical, is very well done and is a master-piece on the subjects dealt with.

S.S.

A New Social Order—By Eddy Asirvatham. Published by the Indian Christain Book Club, Kilpauk, Madras. Price. Rs. 3. Paper, Rs. 3-8-0, Calico. Postage Extra.

IN this work published by the Indian Christian Book Club whose purpose is to understand Christ and his message and to interpret Hinduism and Islam from the Indian Christian stand-point and thus influence the Indians in general to bring home to all the Christian teachings and to inspire in the Indians the idea of creative nationalism. Dr. Asirvatham presents some solution for the excess of poverty, inequality and insecurity of the present social order and regards bread, freedom, brotherhood, and justice for all as the main stay to a contented life. The work is, as Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri has well put it, of surpassing merit. It is idealistic but not Utopean. The word 'caste' comes from the Portuguese word *casta*. Certainly the origin of the caste was not due to the political machinations of Brahmin priests in the dim past. It is refreshing to note that rules regarding untouchability and unapproachibility in South India which are more strict than in the north are sought to be explained and not condemned. While a South Indian Brahmin is a strict vegetarian the Bengali Brahmin has no objection to eat fish. Even in occupation, they are not all priests or learned men. In some parts of the country they are ordinary cultivators and field labourers. The number of castes and sub-castes among the depressed classes, as among the higher castes, is legion. They practise among themselves strict rules which prohibit inter-marriages and inter-dining. There is even 'untouchability within untouchability'. To condemn caste in a wholesale manner just as we condemn sin does not carry us very far. Even after conversion to Christianity or Islam they cannot be sure of absolute fraternal relations with their new co-religionists, because caste has invaded even the ranks of Christians and Muslims. Several reforms have to be carried out in this behalf.

Social harmony is discussed under different headings. One of the first conditions of a new social order is freedom from war. Ideological differences contribute to war. Unless cultures are equal with national sovereignty there is difficulty indeed to banish war. As I have said elsewhere non-violence has a part to play in

meeting violence particularly in India but the cause has to be just and true. A well ordered home is the bulwark of a sound and enduring society, and yet in modern society insidious attempts are being made in different quarters to belittle the home, if not to break it up altogether. Leisure and recreation and education for citizenship are dealt with in detail and we congratulate the author on this excellent work which he has produced. S. S.

KANNADA

Ādhunika Russia [ಆಧುನಿಕ ರಷ್ಯ (**Modern Russia**) **U. S. S. R.**]—By P. R. Ramaiya, B.Sc. Published by the Tainadu Prakatanalaya. Bangalore City. Price. 1-8-0.

MODERN RUSSIA by Mr. Ramaiya is an interesting readable account in Kannada of the evolution of the freedom and liberty of the Communistic State, historically accurate. It would be very welcome as a text book in schools and colleges and we commend it to the Kannada reading public. S. S.

Gandugali Kumāra Rāma (ಗಂಡುಗಲಿ ಕುಮಾರ ರಾಮ)—By Hulur Srinivasa Jois. Published by the Minchinaballiya Chavadi, Desai Street, Dhaṛwar. Price Re. 1-0-0.

KUMĀRA RĀMA is an interesting personality connected with Harihara of the thirteenth century whose name is enshrined in many epics of the time. Whether Kumāra Rāma had anything to do with the foundation of the Vijayanagara, it is difficult to say as it is seriously claimed for him. That he was the bulwark against the Muhammadan aggression is recognised. We are obliged to Mr. Hulur Srinivasa Jois and the publishers for giving a precise account of the exploits of Kumāra Rāma. The book deserves to be prescribed for study as a text book. S. S.

SANSKRIT

Sri Venkatesa Kavya Kalāpa—Edited by M māmsārṇava Mīmāmsa-kesarin Pūrvottara Tantra Pradīpa Paṇḍitarāja D. T. Tatacharya, Siromaṇi, M. O. L. Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Series No. 1. Published by the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. Price Rs. 4-0-0.

ŚRI Venkatesvara Oriental Institute has for the first time, published in Devanagari characters all Kavyas relating to the God Śrīnivāsa and his consort, Padmāvati. The work is divided into three parts. In the first part are included the *stotras* that are chanted daily at the temple at Tirumalai; the rest of the work consists of *stotras* and *gadyas* in honour of the God Śrīnivāsa, by various devotees,

who lived at various times. Notable among the published *stotras* is *Śrinivāsa Gunākāra*, a work as terse as Harṣa's Naiśada and its commentary by Varadācharya of Tirumalai. Yamunacharya's *Sri Nāma Mouktika Māla* and Venkatadhwari's *Sarvanada* find a place in this work. Ranga Ramanuja's bhaṣya in sanskrit of that portion of Tiruvoimozhi of Namma Azhwar relating to Śrīnivāsa is also printed in this work.

This work is not complete in itself. Many more *stotras* and other works familiar to us have not been included herein. The *Idu*, otherwise known as *Muppatharayirappadi*, the famous commentary of Tiruvoimozhi has been translated into Sanskrit. The portion relating to Śrīnivāsa could have been printed herein. We hope and trust that in the next edition the editors will see that a more elaborate work on the subject will be published.

The late M. Krishnamacharya had intended to publish this work, but we are sorry to note that he passed away before he could accomplish the task. We expect every Śrīvaiṣṇava to own a copy of this work.

M. B. N.

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